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ORPHEUS—THE FISHER

Comparative Studies in Orphic and Early Christian Fish Symbolism

BY

ROBERT EISLER, Ph.D.

Many works have appeared treating of fish-symbolism, but the author of the present volume hopes to have opened an entirely new aspect of the question by discussing, for the first time, not the cult of the sacred fish itself, but the worship of a divine fisher, the rites and the beliefs which the different nations of the ancient world connected with this peculiar mythic fisher figure, and finally the Christian symbolism of the Messianic "fisher of men."

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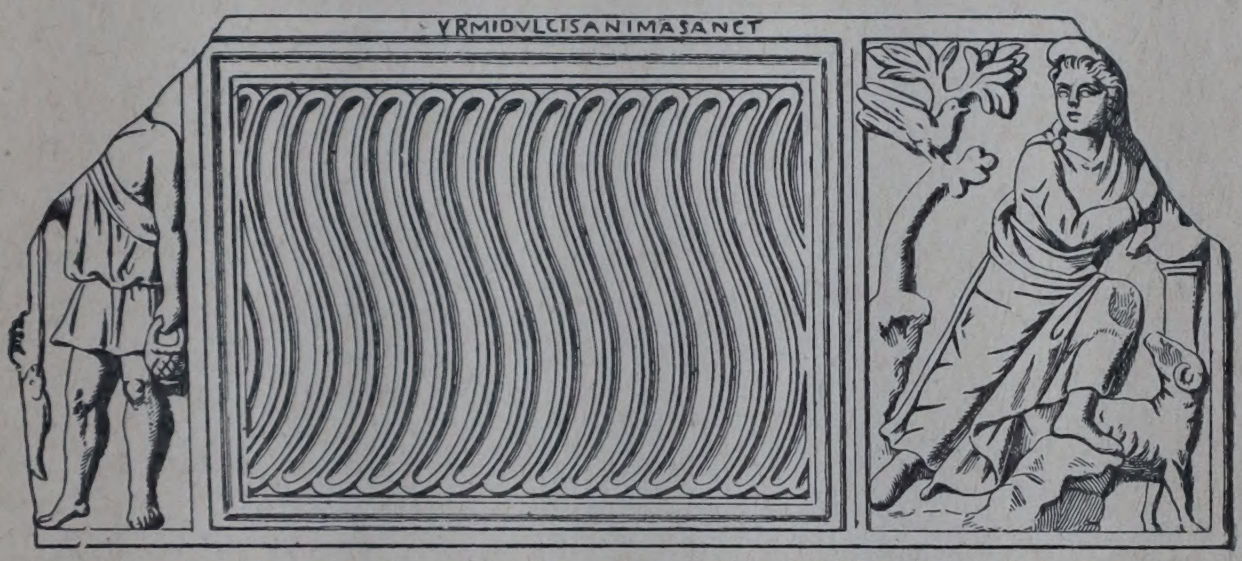
ORPHEUS—THE FISHER

COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN ORPHIC AND EARLY CHRISTIAN CULT SYMBOLISM



By

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PREFACE.

So many are the books and articles which have already been written about the symbolism of the fish in early Christianity and about the cult of this sacred animal in the other pre-Christian religions, that it might seem impossible to find out anything new about this subject after the long and diligent researches of predecessors so numerous and so illustrious. Yet I hope to have opened an entirely new aspect of the question by discussing—as far as I know, for the first time—not the cult of the sacred fish itself, but the *worship of a divine fisher*, the rites and the beliefs which the different nations of the ancient world connected with this peculiar mythic figure, and finally the Christian symbolism of the Messianic "*fisher of men*," which is indeed entirely different from and quite independent of the much discussed Christian ΙΧΘΥΣ allegory—of which I have proposed a new very simple explanation below, p. 171, n. 1; 187, n. 1; 253, n. 1.

As the paper and printing betray at first sight, this book had been printed and almost finished before August, 1914.

The enlarged and illustrated edition in book form of the long series of papers which I have been allowed by the editor's kindness to contribute to *The Quest* from 1910-14 was about to be published when the fatal war began that finally buried the author's native land, the ancient realm of the Hapsburgs, under the ruins of an unfortunate oriental policy. Having done his military duty in the first line until the day of his complete disablement in 1917, the author was allowed to return to his peaceful research work and to wait patiently for the day when the old international relations of friendly competition would be resumed in a spirit of reconciliation.

The kind private letters of congratulation and welcome criticism from English scholars and friends, which he has received in return for the presentation copies of his recent book on the decipherment of the Sinaitic inscriptions discovered by W. M. Flinders Petrie and published by A. H. Gardiner, the forthcoming publication of the author's last paper on the Cadmean Alphabet in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society and the last welcome public manifesto of Oxford professors seem to show that this time is about to return. Nevertheless the author feels under great obligation to his publisher for presenting without further delay to the British public the results of the pre-war studies of an Austrian archeologist which could not by any means be published in the author's own land during its present desperate economic plight.

Unhappily the conditions of book-production throughout the

whole world prevent the inclusion of the great quantity of corroborative and complementary material — texts as well as monuments—which the author has been able to collect in the meantime and which would well fill another volume of the same size.

Especially the somewhat scanty treatment of the Pagan material in the initial chapters I.-VII. could be much amplified and advantageously rearranged now. The ultimately appended pp. 271ff. may give the reader a foretaste of this projected 2nd volume, of which a type-written copy will be placed at the disposal of readers in the library of the British Museum, the publisher being prepared to receive the names of those who may desire to purchase an eventual printed edition of it with many additional plates.

As the illustrations have been added after the completion of the whole work, I have availed myself of the opportunity to add certain corrections and amplifications to the text of the book in the course of the explanations of the single monuments. Other modifications of certain views expressed in the first and earliest chapters have been occasionally added in the last chapters, XXXV.-LIV., wherever a cross reference to the older parts of the book proved necessary. The reader will also find at the end of the book —immediately before the plates, which owing to technical difficulties had all to be inserted behind the text—a short list of supplementary corrections, additions and cross-references,— *N.B.* especially the added materials about the etymologies of "*Orpheus*," "*Helloi*," "*Hellenes*" and "*Poseidon*" !—so that the inconsistencies which seem to be unavoidable in publishing an extensive mass of research work in so many successive instalments should, to the best of my ability, be neutralised.

There are two considerations which console me for the loose composition of this book: first the fact that the best and most instructive book on the problem of the Christian fish-symbolism which has been written up till now—the first, and, unhappily, at present the only volume of Professor Doelger's ΙΧΘΥΣ—has also been published in instalments and shows therefore no less than the present volume a remarkable progressive development of the author's insight into the intricacies of the question; secondly, the idea that, in both cases, the development of opinions may be of itself of interest to the student of comparative religion. Even as it is very instructive to note in the Appendix (Part III.) to Professor Doelger's book, and in general in the later parts of his volume, a growing appreciation of *pagan* cult-monuments for the study of Christian ritual symbolism, even so it may be instructive to observe an inverse evolution in the course of my own investigations.

When I first published in 1908—in a paper read before the Third International Congress of the History of Religions in Oxford —the conjectural new etymology of the name Orpheus, which forms the starting point of the following work, I was quite

confident that by pursuing this hypothesis into all its consequences I should find out a great many hitherto overlooked *points of contact* between early Christianity and Paganism, or that I should at least be able to throw new light on other such points, which had been noticed before but not satisfactorily explained until now. I believe that indeed that anticipation has come true. But, on the other hand, I have certainly been deceived in my expectations of discovering early extensive and important *Pagan influences* on the initial formation of Christian ritual and cult symbolism. In 1908 I was still under the *illusion*—which, I am afraid, is even to-day cherished by many students of comparative religion—*that primitive Christianity was, to a great extent, a syncretistic religion.* In particular I had been strongly impressed by the statement of Eichhorn and other scholars, that we must look out for a pagan, or, more exactly, an oriental prototype for the Eucharist, since a sacramental, not to speak of a theophagic rite is unknown to the Jewish cult-system. This apparently plausible syllogism induced, or, rather, seduced me to build up an elaborate hypothesis about a plausible connection between the obviously sacramental eating of fish and bread in the *pericope* on Jesus feeding the multitude and the hypothetically reconstructed cult ritual of the prehistoric Cananean bread- and fish-, or fish- and corn-god. A paper on this subject, which should originally have been included as a special chapter in the present volume—a now meaningless reference to it could not be effaced in the text of p. 49, n. 1—was also read in Oxford, privately printed and distributed to a great many members of the Congress. I hope that none of these copies survive to-day, for I very soon came to the conclusion that the objections which von Dobschütz-Strassburg raised against that hypothesis in the discussion following my lecture were perfectly justified. I had to give up the greater part of this premature construction and I am perfectly convinced now that the Eucharistic rite arose out of a purely Jewish ritual (see chapter XLVI. of the above-mentioned manuscript in the British Museum). That there *are* Pagan *parallels* to the later developments of it into a mystic theophagy, can scarcely be denied, but I do not believe any more that pagan *influences* were at work in the *initial* stage of Christian origin.

In the same direction I have gradually modified my views on other important problems of the same kind. While I claim now no more than to have discovered a remarkable historic *parallelism between the two in the main independently developed lines of ritual symbolism in early Christianity on the one hand, in the Orphic mysteries on the other,* I thought originally that it would be possible, nay, necessary, to derive the fishing-symbolism of the Christian *baptismal rite*—which *cannot* indeed be derived from the 'Zionist' fishing-symbolism as used by Jesus (below, chapter XII.)—directly from the symbolic initiatory fishing rites of Orphism. Indeed, in spite of certain re-touchings of the text in the book edition, as compared with the respective pages of *The Quest*, traces of this previous opinion may still be discerned on

pp. 69, 77 and 126f. The explicit *palinode* of this second error and the exposition of my present opinion about the independent evolution of Jewish thought—which lead to this Christian cult-symbolism of baptism as a mystic fishing—will be found in the chapters XV.-XXVI., which are all devoted to an analysis of John the 'Forerunner's' doctrine about his "baptism of repentance," as it may be reconstructed from the extant fragments of his famous sermon. In this part of my work (chapter XXII.) I have had the satisfaction to see previous conjectures of mine corroborated by the publications of Dr. Scheftelowitz about the hitherto absolutely unknown fish-symbolism in the Rabbinic literature, which only appeared *after* I had first treated in 1909 the question of the Johannine baptism in the *South German Monthly Review* (below, p. 151, n. 4).

During the war (1916), Prof. Lidzbarski has at last given us a reliable German rendering of the Mandæan 'Sidra de Jahya,' quoted as still untranslated on p. 152. I am glad to see that the details of that document confirm what I said in 1912 on the sole authority of Miss Beatrice Hardcastle's tentative preliminary translations.

A cause of sincere regret for me is the unexpected delay in the publication of the second volume of Professor F. J. Doelger's ΙΧΘΥΣ,—also caused by the war—which I understand will contain a great number of unedited or little-known monuments; I had in vain hoped to the last (1920), that I should be able to quote from the second volume in the last chapters of my book or at least in the "additions and corrections," especially since the distinguished author had been kind enough nine years ago to let me use the advanced sheets of vol. I. and to give me many a valuable hint in the course of our repeated correspondence. I am especially indebted to him for having called my attention to the "Orpheus" on the cross reproduced on our plate XXXI.

My lasting gratitude is due to my dear friend G. R. S. Mead, B.A., M.R.A.S., whose indefatigable help has made it possible for me to present these essays to the English-speaking public in a form which owes its qualities exclusively to the editorial skill of this diligent reviser, while its deficiencies must be pardoned as the shortcomings of a foreigner, who could not always avoid the customary pedantic, complicated and lengthy periods of his native idiom.

I have also to thank the publisher, Mr. John M. Watkins, for the generous forbearance which he has shown in allowing me to correct and supplement the text—regardless of cost—to an unusual extent even in the proofs, and to add such a great number of plates in order to enable the reader to judge the monuments and their explanation for himself, without referring to a large library of learned publications for every quotation. A certain number of blocks have been generously lent to the author. For such favours I have to express my gratitude to the directors of the Imperial Archæological Institute of Germany, to

the Bavarian Folklore Society (*Verein für Volkskunst und Volkskunde e. V. Munich*), to Professor Paul Perdrizet of Nancy, to the Editors of the Italian archæological review '*Ausonia*' and to my learned compatriot Professor Emanuele Loewy, formerly of the *Sapienza* in Rome (for our pl. I.), to the manager of the '*Domenica del Corriere*,' Signor Attilio Centelli in Milan, to Miss Jane Allen Harrison of Newnham College, Cambridge, to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, to Mons. A. Héron de Villefosse of Paris and to the following publishing firms: M. Diesterweg in Frankfurt a. M., publisher of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie;* Hugo Heller in Vienna, formerly publisher of Prof. Freud's Review '*Imago*,' Herder 'sche Verlagshandlung in Freiburg i. B., B. G. Teubner-A.G. in Leipsic, Athenaion-Verlagsgesellschaft Neubabelsberg beri, Berlin, and Alfred Töpelmann in Giessen.

I have further to thank most cordially Dr. Habich, the Director of the Royal Bavarian Numismatic Cabinet, for the kind and helpful assistance which he has given me in the somewhat complicated task of collecting the necessary reproductions from coin types for Plates XI., XII., XIV., XXI., XXVI., XXVII., Father Sofronio Gassisi of the Grottaferrata Basilian friars for the unedited photographs reproduced on pl. XLVIII. and the director of the Trieste Museum Prof. Alberto Puschi for the photographs of the two vases on pl. XXXVI.

Lord Sackville has kindly allowed the reproduction of the unedited Piping Orpheus in Knole Castle. It is a pleasant duty for me to express my gratitude for this much-appreciated favour.

A word should finally be added with regard to the numerous references. This book is throughout intended for the general reader—this is the reason why the few absolutely necessary Greek quotations are given in Latin letters—and especially so in those parts which have previously appeared in *The Quest*. Yet the use of notes could not be avoided as strictly as the author, the editor and the publisher may have wished, since the book is not a mere synopsis of old-established results and opinions but the publication of new research-work, which has yet to stand the test of criticism. Notes had therefore to be added, in order to show to the reader where the author's opinions rest on the ground established by previous investigations of other scholars. Yet I should have had to multiply their number and extent to an unbearable degree, if I had always referred the reader to all the previous opinions on the subject. As a rule I have also avoided any polemic with older divergent interpreters of the texts and monuments in question, since specialists—who are alone interested in such discussions—know for themselves what other opinions have been held on the separate pieces of evidence, which I have tried to explain from a new comprehensive point of view and which therefore I must needs judge differently from any predecessor, whose attention was fixed only on one single object of my collection. The reader may feel sure that I do know the divergent opinions of previous authors

on a special subject also in those many cases where I have refrained from discussing them. It will not help me along therefore to a better understanding of things, if a critic—as has been done already by an opponent in the pages of *The Quest*—repeats again and again that the scholar who has excavated or has edited a monument, or our best authority on this or that class of monuments, holds a different view on it from the present writer. Especially in the treatment of the Dionysiac myths and works of art, my new results are obtained because *I have—on principle—referred as far as possible every detail in the respective traditions or monuments to a feature of the really existing cults and rituals*, while previous mythologists and archæologists have attributed an overwhelming and certainly exaggerated importance to a supposed free play of the artist's or poet's fanciful invention. If any reader wants to raise such cheap '*l'art pour l'art*' arguments—that a given ancient representation or combination of symbols has in most instances a merely decorative purpose, that little or nothing may be inferred for the history of religion from 'artist's whims,' and 'poet's fancies,' that in ancient iconography and mythography, as in modern art and fiction, "*artificis voluntas suprema lex est . . .*" etc., etc.—to my above stated heuristic method, let me warn him beforehand that on these lines of discussion we shall never understand each other. In all other respects let me repeat again and again that nobody could more sincerely welcome the most thorough criticism and that nobody will be found less reluctant to give up a demonstrable error for a better explanation of the facts in question than the author of this modest volume.

ROBERT EISLER.

Feldafing, on lake Starnberg.
All Souls' Day, 1920.

CONTENTS.

		PAGE
Preface		iii
Contents		ix
List of Plates		xii
CHAPTER		
I.	Past and Present Views on Orphism ...	1
II.	A New Etymology: Orpheus the Fisher ...	11
III.	The Cult of the Sacred Fish and the Worship of the Fisher-god	20
IV.	The Fisher-god in Ancient Oriental Uranography. Bassareus the Fishing Fox	24
V.	The Rites of the Fish-cult	30
VI.	Fish-Totemism in Hellas, in Syria, in Latium and in Egypt	34
VII.	The Fisher-god as a Culture-hero and Teacher of Humanity. Ḫanni-Oannes	42
VIII.	The Orpheus and Good Shepherd Pictures in Early Christian Art	51
IX.	Orpheus and the Fisher of Men on the Christian Sarcophagus from Ostia. The Lamb and Milk-pail Glyph in the Roman Catacomb Paintings	59
X.	The Fish-symbolism in Early Christian Literature	71
XI.	The Allegory of the Man-fishing in the Gospels and in the Old Testament. The Angler in the Catacombs. The Man-fishing in Prophetic Texts, especially in Jeremiah	75
XII.	Jesus' Sermon to the Galilean Fishermen ...	84
XIII.	The Penny in the Fish's Mouth	91
XIV.	The Miraculous Draught Legends ...	107
XV.	The Fore-runner of the Christ	129
XVI.	Micah vii., 14, 20, and the Preaching of the Baptist	138
XVII.	The Baptism of John and the Rabbinic Baptising of Proselytes	144
XVIII.	The Messianic Spring	148

CHAPTER		PAGE
XIX.	John—Oannes?	151
XX.	John—Jonah. Jonah as Fisher	156
XXI.	The Fishes in the Mystic Stream of Ezekiel xlvii.	163
XXII.	The Fish-symbolism in the Rabbinic Literature	169
XXIII.	The Messianic 'Flood of Justice' ...	176
XXIV.	The Fishes Exempt from the Deluge ...	182
XXV.	The Second Noe	184
XXVI.	The Triple Baptism and the Three Elementary World Catastrophes of the Last Days. The Baptism of Fire. The Wind of Judgment. Wind Baptism and Wind Cataclysm. The Triple Purgation in the Mysteries. The Tropic Points in the Great Year ...	192
XXVII.	The Fish-meal in the Christian Catacomb Pictures	208
XXVIII.	The Gospels on Jesus Feeding the People with Bread and Fish	211
XXIX.	The Fish Eating in the 'Agapæ' of the Primitive Church	216
XXX.	The Sabbatic Fish-meal of the Jews and the Banquet of the Last Days	221
XXXI.	The Teaching of Jesus on the Messianic 'Food from Heaven.' The Manna Miracle of the Messiah. The Baskets with the Crumbs. The Messianic Fish-meal Anticipated. Allegorical Pictures of the Legend. The True Manna	226
XXXII.	The Broiled Fish on the Coal Fire ...	238
XXXIII.	The Fish and the Honey-comb. Pagan Belief concerning Bees and Honey. Bees in Jewish and Christian Mysticism. The Bee-hymns and the Easter Candle	247
XXXIV.	The Fish Caught by the 'Virgin' in the Mystic Epitaph of Bishop Aberkios. The 'Queen.' The 'Shining Seal.' The 'Great Fish' from the 'Fountain.' Magic Impregnation by a Fish. Magic Fishing for Offspring. The Fish as a Sex-symbol. Conception viewed as 'Fishing.' The Christ Fished by the Church. Number Symbolism in the Aberkios Epitaph.	249

Appendices to Chapters I.—VII.

PAGE

I. The Mystic Fishing-Scene in the Bakcheion of Melos and Lucian's Parody of the Man-fishing Rite. Plato on the Angling Sophist ... 271

II. The 'Lake of Orpheus' in Rome and the Orphic Piscine in Utina 277

III. The Dionysian Vintage Feast and the Communion Sacrifice of the New Grapes. The Eating of the Grape-god. The Fishing and the Sacrament of the Vine 280

IV. The Fishermen in the Dionysian Initiation-scenes from the Roman Villa in the Farnesina Garden. Cleopatra's Villa? Dionysian Initiation. Wanderings in the Darkness. The Journey on the Sun-chariot. The Winnowing Sieve. The Crossing of the Bridge. The Sudden Fall and the Fishing of the Neophyte. The Baptism of Wind and Fire. The Light in the Darkness 284

Additions and Corrections 297

Plates

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Plate	I. *to face*	p. 1.	Inscription from the Graveyard of the initiated Dionysos-worshippers in Cuma.
,,	II. ,,	p. 3, n. 2.	Babylonian Orpheus-Nebo.
,,	III. ,,	p. 3, n. 2.	Wild animals tamed and led in procession by lutanists and cymbal player.
,,	IV. ,,	p. 6.	Orphic Cult-image representing the birth of the God Phanes-Dionysos, from the world-egg.
,,	V. ,,	p. 15.	The Divine Hunter on a tombstone of Thracian Dionysos-worshippers.
,,	VI. ,,	p. 15.	The hunting God of the wild vine of the woods, spearing a boar.
,,	VII. ,,	p. 16.	Orpheus (?) among the animals blowing the decoy horn.
,,	VIII. ,,	p. 17.	The 'Fisher of Men' on an early Babylonian Monument: Patesi Eannatu of Lagash, who has caught in his net the inhabitants of Oumma (Giš-ḫu).
,,	IX. ,,	p. 20.	Perseus and the fisherman on coins of Tarsus in Cilicia.
,,	X. ,,	p. 22.	Figs. 1, 2. Kal or Zag-ḫa, the Divine Fisherman, on Babylonian seal-cylinders.
,,	X.*bis* ,,	p. 22.	Fig. 3. Babylonian sculpture representing Zag-ḫa, the divine 'Warden of the Fish.' Fig. 4. The same Divinity on a Minoan Sealing-Stone. Fig 5. The God with the fish and the fisher-spear on a coin of Rabath Moba in Moab.
,,	XI. ,,	p. 22.	Fig. 1. Development of the ideogram for the Goddess Ninua. Fig. 2. The 'House of Fish' as the symbol of the Carthaginian goddess Anna, on Augustean coins of Abdera in Spain.

Plate XII. *to face* p. 23. Fig. 1. Coins of Gades (Gadir) and Ituci, illustrating the transfer of the Phœnician fish-cult from Carthage to the Punic settlements in Spain.

Fig. 2. Coins of Carteia in Spain, with the fisher-god.

,, XIII. ,, p. 23. Celtic fisher-god, hooking a salmon; on an engraved bronze frontlet for decorating a head-dress.

,, XIV. ,, p. 27. The Phokos, or brown-fish, a particular kind of Dolphin and the heraldic animal of Phocœa, devoured by a fox.

,, XV. ,, p. 28. Fig. 1. The god Thor and the giant angling for the Midgard snake from a boat, using the head of a bull for a bait, as seen on the second Gosforth cross.

Fig. 2. God the Father angling for the mythical fish Leviathan.

,, XVI. ,, p. 31. Two priests dressed up as 'Fishes' performing a fertilisation-rite at the sacred tree.

,, XVII. ,, p. 31. Galeoi or Galeōtai, Greek shark-priests.

,, XVIII. ,, p. 31. Torres-straits islander dressed up as a saw-fish for the 'saw-fish dance.'

,, XIX. ,, p. 31. Fig. 1. Dancer wearing a fish-mask.

Fig. 2. Different fish-dance masks.

,, XX. ,, p. 31. Assyrians feeding fish for divinatory purposes, as shown on the embossed brass work from the Palace Gates of King Salmanassar II., in Imghurbel (Balawat).

,, XXI. ,, p. 36. The oak Zeus with the two prophetic doves sitting on top of the sacred trees. The god holds a fish in each hand.

,, XXII. ,, p. 37. Fig. 1. Omphalos-stone, with doves and fish on coin of Cyzicus.

Fig. 2. The fish and the pomegranate sacrificed to the Axe-god.

Plate XXII. *to face* p. 37. Fig. 3. Fragment from a Cretan vase-painting of the Minoan period showing the sacred fish conjoined with the sacred double-axe.

Fig. 4. The joint symbols of the axe and the fish on a Phœnician inscription.

Fig. 5. Christian inscription showing the traditionally combined symbols of the axe, the fish and the dove.

„ XXIII. „ p. 40. The deified soul of a deceased Egyptian represented in the shape of the sacred oxyrhynchus fish.

„ XXIV. „ p. 43. Fig. 1. The cross and the A B C between two fishes on an early Christian earthenware jar.

Fig. 2. Letters from the so-called fish Alphabet.

„ XXV. „ p. 44. Babylonian priest masquerading as 'fish of Ea.'

„ XXVI. „ p. 45. Hermes fishing.

„ XXVII. „ p. 49. The combined symbols of the 'fish' and 'corn' divinity on coins of Ilipa Magna.

„ XXVII.*bis*. „ p. 49. Apollo with sacred fishes and barley-corns.

„ XXVIII. „ p. 51. Painted Orpheus ceiling from the Domitilla catacomb.

„ XXIX. „ p. 52. David as a lyre-playing shepherd represented in the typical attitude of Orpheus among the animals.

„ XXX. „ p. 54. Monkey in the attitude of an Orpheus with his lute luring the animals and cupids driving with reins double teams of fishes.

„ XXXI. „ p. 54. The crucified Christ as Orpheus.

„ XXXII. „ p. 57. Statue of an Orphic 'Boukolos' of the Pisistratean age.

„ XXXIII. „ p. 57. Christian Good Shepherd statue in the Lateran Museum.

„ XXXIV. „ p. 59. The corresponding Figures of Orpheus and the Fisher on a Christian sarcophagus.

Plate XXXV. *to face* p. 60. Fig. 1. Dionysos Phalen or Halieus as patron of fishermen.
Fig. 2. Fishing Silen.
Fig. 3. The fisher among the Satyrs.

,, XXXVI. ,, p. 60. The Bacchic Fisher and the Maenad.

,, XXXVII. ,, p. 60. (*a*) Raving Bacchante with '*bakchos*' fishes.
(*b*) Raving Bacchante with snakes.

,, XXXVII.*bis* ,, p. 60. (*c*) Fawn rent asunder by Dionysos Omester.
(*d*) Maenad with snake, ram and wand.

,, XXXVIII. ,, p. 60. Fig. 1. Fisher-ring of St. Arnuld of Treves.
Fig. 2. Bishop's ring of the Diocese Montpellier with the fish-symbol.
Fig. 3. Ring with fish-symbol and ΙΧΘΥΣ inscription.
Fig. 4. Ring of Emilia with the fish-symbol and the dove on the tree.

,, XXXIX. ,, p. 61. Catacomb-fresco. The fisher and the lamb with the milk-pail in the 'Gallery of the Flavians.'

,, XL. ,, p. 61. Catacomb-fresco. The Good Shepherd with the milk-pail.

,, XLI. ,, p. 61. Catacomb-fresco. The Good Shepherd milking the mystic Ewe.

,, XLII. ,, p. 63. Catacomb-fresco. Praying woman before the mystic milk-pail.

,, XLIII. ,, p. 65. Catacomb-fresco. The lambs reaching the milk-pail. Adaptation of the Orphic symbolon: '*Eriphos es gala epeton.*'

,, XLIV. ,, p. 66. Catacomb-frescoes. Fig. 1. Fisher angling a fish; baptism of a youth; descent of the dove with the olive branch; the healed impotent from Bethsaida.
Fig. 2. Moses producing water from the rock.

,, XLV. ,, p. 68. '*Eriphos es gala epiton.*' The mystic milk-pail, 4th century fresco-painting from the Callisto catacomb.

,, XLVI. ,, p. 72. The baptismal fishing of men.

Plate XLVII. *to face* p. 74. The soul having 'put on' the 'fish' as a garment.

„ XLVIII. „ p. 141. Fig. 1. The thash^{e}lih-rite as performed by members of the orthodox Jewish synagogue at Munich, on the evening of the 2nd of October, 1913.

„ XLIX. „ p. 161. Early Christian sarcophagus with Jonah saved by fishermen.

„ L. „ p. 168. Angels angling—with fishing rods, nets and fish-weirs—in the mystic Jordan.

„ LI. „ p. 204. Roman funeral monument of the 1st century A.D., symbolising the passage of the soul through the three elements.

„ LII. „ p. 208. The earliest 'fish and bread meal' picture in the catacombs.

„ LIII. „ p. 209. Fig. 1. Still-life paintings of the 2nd century from the catacomb of S. Lucina, showing the Friday-fish, the basket with the newly baked sabbatic 'thanksgiving' bread and the glass 'cup of blessing' filled with red wine.
Fig. 2. The meal of the two fishes and the eight baskets of bread in the 'chapel of the sacrament' of the S. Callisto catacomb.
Fig. 3. The other fish-and-bread meal in S. Callisto.

„ LIV. „ p. 209. Fig. 1. Two loaves and one fish on a tripod surrounded by seven baskets full of bread.
Fig. 2. Eucharistic scene (man blessing bread and fish for a woman).

„ LV. „ p. 209. Second century fresco-paintings illustrating the eating of bread and fish in the early Christian Agape.
Fig. 1. From the Priscilla,
Fig. 2. „ „ Callisto Catacombs.

„ LVI. „ p. 222. Pagan sacramental meal.

„ LVII. „ p. 223. The Sabbath Fish Meal. Gilt glass fragment from a Jewish 'cup of blessing.'

Plate	LVIII.	*to face* p. 223.	The Sabbath Fish Meal. Gilt glass fragment from a Jewish 'cup of blessing.'
,,	LIX.	,, p. 231.	The miraculous 'dressed table' with the seven fishes that fell from heaven at the prayer of Jesus, on an early Christian earthenware lamp from Carthage.
,,	LX.	,, p. 256, n. 5.	Buddhistic drawing: the 'Yoni' in the shape of two fishes and a fig leaf.
,,	LXI.	,, p. 258.	Fig. 1. Eros riding on a fish. Fig. 2. Winged Cupid holding a fish.
,,	LXII.	,, p. 259.	Poseidon, Herakles and Hermes fishing.
,,	LXIII.	,, p. 259.	The 'love-fishing' ('*erōtikē agra*'). Pompeian Wall-painting.
,,	LXIV.	,, p. 261.	Fig. 1. The 'Potnia Thērōn' with the divine Fish in her womb. Fig. 2. Fish painted between legs of horse on Mycenean potsherd. Fig. 3. Same, engraved on reindeer bone.
,,	LXV.	,, p. 263, n. 1.	Lady spinning before the sacred fish on the altar.
,,	LXVI.	,, p. 271.	The Vine of Dionysos Botrys and Dionysos Halieus on Mosaic of Dionysian Mystery-Hall.
,,	LXVII.	,, p. 279.	Orphic piscina in the Laberii villa of Uthina.
,,	LXVIII.	,, p. 281, n. 1.	Wine Bottle representing Dionysos Botrys, the deified grape.
,,	LXIX.	,, p. 281, n. 1.	Fresco-painting of Dionysos Botrys.
,,	LXX.	,, p. 282.	Mosaic of Sertei, with vine and fishes.
,,	LXXI.	,, p. 284.	The mystic vine, painted ceiling in the Catacomb of the Flavians.
,,	LXXII.	,, p. 286*ff*.	Scenes of Bacchic Initiation in the Farnesina Villa.
,,	LXXIII.	,, p. 294.	Landscape with fishermen.

I.

PAST AND PRESENT VIEWS ON ORPHISM.

"ORPHEUS is in vogue." Since 1895, when Erwin Rohde wrote these ironical words in his brilliant criticism of an utterly worthless book upon the subject, this fashion does not seem to have declined. Numerous books and papers on Orphism have appeared since then, and although we find names like Albrecht Dieterich, Salomon Reinach and Otto Gruppe among the contributors to this recent literature, the problem is still very far from being solved. And yet nobody can fail to perceive that gradually one of the most fundamental problems in the history of Greek religion has arisen out of what had been before merely one of those puzzling enigmas, attractive chiefly on account of their mysterious obscurity at once to the most learned and to the most fantastic antiquarians of a bygone period.

An Orphic association, a '*thiasos*' with particular funeral rites[1] and consequently a particular eschatology,[2]

[1] According to the well-known passage of Herodotus (II. 81), they avoided woollen garments and would be buried in linen only. A recently excavated stone-slab (photographic reproduction, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1905, p. 387) from a Greek graveyard in Cuma bears an inscription, dating from the first half of the Vth century B.C., as follows: "It is not lawful for anyone to be buried here, unless he has been initiated into the Dionysiac mysteries." This proves that the Orphics had already in this remote period reserved burial grounds, just as the Christians in later antiquity. Not even the bodies of the 'pure' or 'holy ones' (*katharoi* or *hosioi*), as they called themselves, might be defiled by the proximity of unpurified, uninitiated fellow-citizens. "I come, a pure one from among the pure," boasts the soul of an initiate, according to the inscription on one of the Orphic funeral gold tablets, published by Murray in the Appendix to Miss J. E. Harrison's *Prolegomena* (Cambridge, 1903, p. 661 ff.). I do not know another instance of such 'eschatological' intolerance in the whole pagan world.

[2] Its main features were the doctrines of metempsychosis, considered

formerly known to us only through a rather controversial passage in Herodotus, is now palpably attested by those quaint gold tablets with Orphic inscriptions, excavated from Greek graves in Lower Italy. In the light of this fact nobody can venture to pretend any longer that the hieratic organisation of an Orphic community, as presupposed in the well-known Orphic prayer-book, is merely a literary fiction. Nor is there any reason to believe that, from the time of Herodotus and these South Italian Orphic inscriptions of the Vth, IVth, IIIrd and IInd centuries, down to the last years before our era, when the Orphic hymnology was finally brought into its present shape, there has been a single interval of time when the often-mentioned, wandering Orphic priests and priestly beggars could not find local support on their journeys from settled Orphic communities, just as did the Christian missionaries of the first centuries, when travelling from one church to another along the highways of the Roman empire. Literary as well as archæological remains—principally the latest Orphic poems dating from the IVth century of our era, and countless representations of Orpheus among his beasts on Imperial coins and on Roman mosaics,[1] scattered all over the empire from Palestine and Africa to Great Britain—attest the continued vitality of these cults in later antiquity. Romans as well as Greeks were among

as a 'circle of rebirths' and as an expiation for a mythological crime, a kind of 'original sin,' committed by the remote ancestors of humanity; of a final deliverance from this merciless 'wheel of necessity'; and—precisely as in the parallel traditions in India—of a 'double way' to the *au-delà*, one to blissful light for the initiates, one to dirt and darkness for the unclean. Empedocles and the 'Vision of Er' in Plato's *Republic* give the best idea of the classical development in Orphic eschatology, which expected a transcendental retribution for good and bad actions, quite unlike the dogma of other mysteries, where—as the Cynic Diogenes said with reference to Eleusis—"a better lot was promised for the pickpocket Pataikion, because he had been initiated, than to the great Epaminondas, his uninitiated rival."

[1] Cp. the extensive list by Gruppe in Roscher's *Lexicon*, iii. 2, 1190 ff.

the initiated, and, if we may trust Philostratus,[1] even in Babylonia frequent representations of Orpheus or at least of a synonymous native deity or hero—possibly, as a Christian author[2] allows us to suspect, Nebo of Mabug, the Babylonian Lord of Wisdom and of life-giving springs—prove the unparallelled popularity of these mysteries.

In addition to this, the cult—or at least the legends and influence—of the mystic hierophant was by no means confined to the Orphic communities properly so designated. From the VIth century B.C. onwards, that is to say in a period when the existence of special Orphic confraternities as such, although scarcely deniable, is not yet explicitly stated, we find that apparently independent mystery-cults, such as the imposing ceremonies at Eleusis, were already being put under his personal patronage. It is tolerably certain that the Sicilian Orpheotelests at the court of Pisistratus were officially intrusted with certain reforms at Eleusis, possibly with the addition of the so-called minor mysteries of Dionysus in Agræ[3] to the ceremonial previously adhered to[4]. From that time at any rate the name of Orpheus is connected not only with nearly

[1] *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* I. 25.

[2] The Sardian bishop Melito (*Corp. Apol.* IX., 426) says in one of his letters: "What shall I write to you about the god Nebo [the Babylonian Mercury; lit. = 'the prophet'] in Mabug [= 'place of emerging'] ? For all the priests in Mabug know that he is only a copy (*simulacrum*) of Orpheus, the Thracian wizard."

[3] Ernst Maass, in his *Orpheus*, p. 88 ff., was the first to assert the existence of Orphic elements in the mysteries at Agræ, but, as Rohde has shown, on altogether inconclusive arguments. Yet the place-name 'Agræ' and the tradition (Clemens Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 12, P., after Apollod., *De Diis*) that the orgies had been founded by a *hunter* named Myūs (from *myein*, the verb underlying the noun *mysteria*) point to the fact that Dionysus, the real Myūs or 'initiator,' was worshipped there under the form of 'Agreus,' the 'Great Hunter,' or 'Za-agreus' (see below, p. 15), that is to say, in his specifically Orphic *rôle*.

[4] Cp. the present writer's *Weltenmantel*, etc, (Munich, 1910), pp. 708 ff.

all the mystery, but also with a great many of the ordinary chthonic cults in Greece and Italy. The Lykomids at Phlya pretended that their hymns were composed by the venerable prophet; he is brought into connection with the Samothracian and Theban mysteries of the 'Great Gods,'[1] with the Laconian cults of Korē Chthoniē, with the orgies of Hekate in Ægina,[2] with the cults of Bendis and Kybele. Finally, we cannot doubt that Christian faith took its first tentative steps into the reluctant world of Græco-Roman paganism under the benevolent patronage of Orpheus; the fact is attested not only by numerous Christian interpolations in the hieratic texts of Orphism, but also by several well-known representations of Orpheus among his beasts in early Christian cemeterial paintings and sculptured sarcophagi (see Ch. viii.). Both facts, strange as this may seem, have up to the present day never been sufficiently accounted for.

In addition to this fundamental importance of Orpheus for the history of ancient cults, his name is traditionally connected not only with the origin of Greek music, poetry, writing, and even agriculture,[3] but also with the dawn of ancient philosophy. Nearly all the current mystic cosmogony of different periods was

[1] The so-called 'Kabiri'; this is the Semitic name (meaning the 'Great Ones') for an enigmatical trinity of Prehellenic gods; their Greek names Axieros, Axiokersos and Axiokersa have been successfully explained by A. B. Cook (*Transact.* IIIrd Int. Congr. Hist. Rel., II. p. 194) with reference to the holy double axe (*axia*, *axinē*).

[2] Paus. 2, 30, 2; the first hymn of the Orphic prayer-book is dedicated to Hekate, and with reference to the title and thesis of the present essay I may at once call the reader's attention to the fact that Hekate was generally believed to grant an abundant catch to fishermen (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 443 f., and the scholia to these verses; cp. Oppian's *Halieutica*, 3, 28).

[3] Themist. *Or.* XXX. p. 349 h. The legendary death of Orpheus under the spades and hoes of the Maenades goes back—as Frazer has proved—to a well-known rite of sacrificing a human representative of the corn-spirit. Cp. p. 49 n. 1, on the identity of the divine Fish and the corn-god in the Semitic religions of Western Asia.

ascribed to him, at least in a transparently pseudepigraphic way, which often left the real author's name a public secret.[1]

The oldest mass of that literature (so-called Pelasgian inscriptions on certain time-honoured Thracian stone or wood slabs, whose existence, although attested only by Euripides and Heracleides Ponticus, need not be questioned) is inaccessible to our researches. We have, however, among the remains of three or four other cosmogonies of minor importance, one of which is considered as Prehomeric by Gruppe and Dyroff, abundant fragments of the principal Orphic teaching, the so-called rhapsodic theogony. This great mystic poem, again and again commented on by the Neoplatonists, was considered for a long time, *e.g.* by Eduard Zeller and his school, as a *pasticcio* from a period not earlier than the first century B.C., strongly tinted with Stoic pantheism and therefore unknown to Plato, Aristotle, and so of course to Presocratic philosophers, such as, for example, Empedocles. At present, however, it is attributed by our best authorities, namely Diels, Gomperz, Kern and Gruppe, as it had been by Christian Lobeck, to the period before the Persian wars, a date which I too consider as definitely established. On the other hand, I have attempted in a recent publication[2] to show that the current belief in an Attic origin for this quaint and most fantastic theogony with its absolutely unhellenic bisexual and polymorphous gods, as set forth by these competent authors, is rash and unfounded, as far as the ideas themselves—not the final literary redaction of the rhapsodies—are concerned.

Among many other arguments, the exact correspondence between the Orphic descriptions of the Time-god

[1] Cp. p. 11, n. 1. [2] Cp. p. 8, n. 4, and p. 6, n. 2.

Chronos agēratos ('undecaying Time') and the Mithraic representations of Zrvān akarana ('endless Time'); the close relations between the Orphic Zeus 'Diskos' in his pantheistic shape, and the familiar type of Ahura Mazda in the winged disk, representing, as Herodotus expressly states, the whole circle of the sky; the strange coincidence that the god Mithras has a son called 'Di-orphos'[1]; and last, not least, the striking fact that the only existing Orphic idol (a representation of the mystic primeval god Phanes, born from the cosmic egg), exactly corresponding, as it does, to the rhapsodic description of that deity, has been able to deceive an authority of Cumont's unquestionable competence into mistaking it for a Mithraic image—all this, I say, sufficiently proves that the so-called rhapsodic cosmogony, or at least the cosmogonical and religious ideas underlying it, could only have been conceived in surroundings where Iranian theology of a peculiar form, well known to scholars under the name of Zrvānism—that is, a fatalistic cult of 'Eternal Destiny' conceived as 'Endless Time' and 'Boundless Space'[2] strongly

[1] Cp. p. 19, n. 1.

[2] The oldest explicit testimony for the existence of this creed is a passage of Aristotle's favourite pupil Eudemos of Rhodes, quoted by the Neoplatonist Damascius (*De Princip.*, 125 *bis*, p. 322, Ruelle). Yet the absolute identity of the Zrvānistic cosmogonical system with the doctrines concerning 'Kāla,' that is the divinity 'Time,' in certain passages of the *Atharvaveda*, in the *Mahābhārata*, and in the Purānas (see my *Weltenmantel*, Munich, 1910, pp. 495 ff.) can only be explained with regard to the Persian dominion over the Indus valley in the VIth century B.C. This proves that *Iranian* Zrvānism goes back at least to the VIIth and VIIIth centuries B.C. An eschatology, based on metempsychosis and on an eternal circle of rebirths, is quite characteristic of this Persian cult of 'Eternity.' As it is absolutely alien to the old Vedic literature and appears in Indian mysticism exactly at the same time as the Kāla-cosmogonies, even as it reappears in the same significant connection with an Aeon-cult in the Hermetic writings in Egypt, composed in the very period when Egypt was under Persian sway (*cp.* Flinders Petrie, *Personal Religion in Egypt*, London, 1909)—while it is entirely unknown to the genuine Egyptian literature—it cannot be overlooked that in Greece also the Orphic Chronos-cult and the Orphic eschatology of metempsychosis were introduced together into the national beliefs of Hellas, which knew nothing at all either of a divinity of 'Endless Time' or of an eternal 'circle of rebirths.'

influenced by the mysticism of Babylonian star-lore—could exercise a powerful fascination on the mind of Greek truth-seekers, dissatisfied with their own comparatively primitive and unsophisticated national religion. Now the only *milieu* where such a syncretism can, nay must, have evolved, is the Ionian colonies in Asia Minor, in the very period before they came under actual Persian government. 'Mēdismos,' as the later Greeks styled it, must have been a spiritual creed in Ionia long before it began to be a political movement there and in Greece. The later degeneration of Orphism, attested by Plato's contemptuous attitude towards its wandering prophets, was the result of the victorious wars of Hellas against Persia. Cyrus had once been welcomed by the oracle of the 'Orpheus-head' in Lesbos with the significant greeting: "Mine are also thine"[1]; on the other hand Herodotus (vii. 6) tells us, that Onomacritus, the chief priest of the Attic Orphics, fled to the court of Darius together with the exiled son of Pisistratus.

This theory of the origin and character of Orphic theology is in harmony with all that can be said of the peculiar Orphic rites. No sound connoisseur of Greek moods and manners could or would have believed that, any more than the mystic and fantastic doctrines which occur in the rhapsodic theogony, archaic rites of the crudest and most naïve symbolism—such as the Orphic '*sparagmos*,' the devouring of the sacred bull's living flesh and the magical reviving of the sacrificial lamb by boiling it in its mother's milk[2] (a rite already prohibited

[1] Philostr. *Her.* 5_3 p. 704.

[2] One of the most important 'symbols' of Orphism seems to have been the formula "As a kid have I fallen into the milk," recurring on most of the above-mentioned gold tablets from Orphic graves. The words had certainly an astral and cosmic significance, for, according to a well-known Pythagorean doctrine, the souls had to pass on their way down as well as on their return

as heathenish by Biblical law)—could have been the offspring of the most humane, most enlightened of all nations, such as we, after a due allowance for the possibly somewhat idealised pictures of the Homeric accounts, believe the earliest Greek population to have been.

On the contrary, the Cretans always claimed Orphic and all other kindred mysteries as their own invention, since they were openly performed in that country but secretly everywhere else.[1] The validity of this classical argument is undeniable. It agrees not only with our alleged origin of Orphic theology and cosmogony in Asia Minor, but also with the universally acknowledged 'Thracian' aspects of Orpheus, and with the fact that his cult, as well as the legends concerning him, is deeply rooted only in Thracia, Macedonia, Asia Minor and the islands on its coast.

to the sky *through the Galaxy*. And another tradition (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, II. 91; Jo. Lyd., *Ostent.*, 10), overlooked until now although its Orphic origin cannot be questioned, says, that comets, passing through the Galaxy, as if drinking of the heavenly milk, were called '*tragoi*' (goats). This leads to the conclusion, that comets or shooting stars, crossing the Milky Way, were believed to be the souls of those blessed and redeemed ones, returning to their heavenly home after escaping from the 'circle of necessity.' Such a soul, a Buddha, as the Indian would say, had become a god, one of the "few real Bacchi from among the many thyrsus-bearers." The God himself being worshipped under the form of the sacred kid and later on as the sacred goat, as Dionysus 'Eriphios' or 'Tragios,' the highest aim of his worshippers must have been to become themselves '*tragoi*' or '*eriphoi*' (*cp.* the satyrs, or rather goat-skinned acolytes, surrounding Orpheus on early vase paintings; for the equation of 'satyr' and 'eriphos' see *Corp. Inscr. Latin.*, III., 686). Only as such could they hope to pass the Galaxy and reach the blissful fields of heaven. Many analogies, treated at greater length in the late W. Robertson Smith's masterly article 'Sacrifice' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, suggest that this mystic aim was realised symbolically by wrapping oneself in a goatskin and by devouring at the same time the sacred animal, which was believed to resuscitate in the bodies of his theophagic worshippers. The 'falling into the milk' must have been symbolised by cooking the sacrificial meat in a milk broth; for many a popular tale—notably the story of Medea dismembering and cooking first a kid and then old Pelias, or Demeter cooking and restoring the 'satyrs' to eternal youth—bears testimony to the custom of boiling the victim, intended as a reviving ceremony. Moreover milk, being the food of the newborn, must have been considered as a life-giving and life-restoring principle *par excellence*, so that boiling in milk would be considered a doubly efficacious charm.

[1] Cp. Diodor. V. 77. On the Cretan taurophagic sacrifice see Eurip. *Cretans* Fr. 472 N²; Firmic. Mat. *De err. prof. relig.*, p. 9. Burs. Fr. xlviii. Nemethy.

If, then, Orphic rites really belonged to the religion of the Prehellenic so-called Pelasgian, Carian or Lelegian population of Greece, Asia Minor and the Islands, to those Hittites or whatever they may have been, who adored the wild bull caught in hunting nets and sacrificed by means of the holy double-axe,[1] we can easily understand how deeply repulsive and antipathetic they must have been to the Greek conquerors, whose serene religion and mythology were as unsullied by such orgies as the original cult-system of their Roman brethren.

Just as the British Government succeeded in imposing on its Indian subjects the salutary necessity of performing gentle rites such as the burning alive of widows, and other equally amiable ceremonies, in a severely guarded secrecy, and under continual dread of being surprised by 'uninitiated' enemies of such spectacles, even so may the Achæan aristocracy have forced a similar constraint upon the conquered so-called Pelasgian population. For it is hardly probable that any cult, at least in a primitive age, would assume voluntarily the humble and burdensome character of secret mysteries; on the contrary, the greatest possible pomp and publicity have always been the glory of a triumphant religion. Moreover, supposing that 'Orphism' was the religion of the vanquished Prehellenic population, we understand at once not only the syncretistic character of its doctrines and the secrecy of its orgies, but also the nearly exclusive relation of

[1] Dionysus 'Axios Tauros,' as the god is called by the women of Elis in an old hymn (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.*, 36) is, according to an excellent remark of Salomon Reinach's at the last Congress for the History of Religions, not at all the 'worthy bull,' but the 'axe bull,' the very god represented by the bull-heads with the sacred double-axe between the horns, found at Mycenæ as well as in the Minoan palace of Cnossus. The hunting of the sacred bull with enormous nets is illustrated on the famous gold cups from the graves of Vaphio, now in the National Museum at Athens.

its peculiar myths to two gods of distinctly barbarian origin, such as Dionysus and Apollo, the former being universally considered as the national god of the Thracophrygian nation, the latter having been traced but lately to his cradle in Asia Minor by an authority of such rank as Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf.

II.

A NEW ETYMOLOGY: ORPHEUS—THE FISHER.

THE very intimate relation between Apollo and Bacchus—remember that Delphi, for example, remained half a year under Apollo's, the other half year under Dionysus' protection—would well account for the close connection between the so-called Orphic or Dionysiac and the so-called Pythagorean communities. This relation is firmly established through the testimony of Herodotus, as well as by all our historical evidence concerning the authors of the various Orphic poems,[1] and ultimately by a marked affinity of rites, prescriptions and beliefs[2] (to be still more emphasised in the further progress of these researches), inasmuch as the mythical parallelism of Pythagoras and Apollo seems to correspond exactly to that of Orpheus and Dionysus. Just as the different historical 'Orpheuses' of Kroton and Kamarina are named after their mythical prototype, so, in all probability, the four or five historical 'Pythagorases' are all named after the *mythical* Pythagoras. *This* was the Virgin's son, who, five times reincarnated and once—witness, as Mannhardt perceived, his legendary golden

[1] They are all traditionally attributed either to Pythagoras himself or to Italian Pythagoreans like Brontin, Zopyros and others. Pythagoras of Samos is said to have been initiated into the Leibethrian Orpheus-mysteries by 'Aglaophamus.'

[2] The taboos against meat, woollen garments and beans are indiscriminately attributed to the 'Pythagorean' and to the 'Orphic' church. The Pythagorean sacrifice of a suckling kid, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius, corresponds to the above (p. 7 n. 2) analysed Orphic creed. Finally the Pythagoreans execrated fish-eating, a custom the origin of which will be discussed in ch. vi.

leg—dismembered and resuscitated by a magical cooking, travelled together with the sun from his eastern birthplace to the golden evening lands of Hesperia in the West, where he died, burnt by his enemies in his own house or rather sanctuary, just as Apollo was wont to be at the end of every four-year period in the great Delphian Septerion-festival, commemorated in the well-known legend of Phlegias burning the Delphic sanctuary, or, as Hermann Usener has endeavoured to show, in the famous myth of the 'Iliou Persis' through Pyrrhos or Perseus, the mythical incendiary.

The only difference is, that while the name of the mythical Pythagoras—according to the analogous title of 'Pyl-agorai' for the messengers to the Amphictyonic assembly, held alternately at Pylae and in Delphi, the Homeric 'Pythō,' it signifies 'him who speaks in Pythō'—clearly confirms his identity with the Delphic god, the not less obvious connection between the personality and fate of the mythical Orpheus and the sufferings of the bull-god Dionysus—well-known even to ancient theologians[1]—seems to be most cunningly and purposely hidden behind the deep mystery lingering about the yet unknown meaning of this enigmatical name.

It is generally admitted that no satisfactory etymology has been proposed for 'Orpheus' until now. We need not waste time in reconsidering the footless theories establishing a connection between Orpheus and the Indian Ṛibhus, any more than the classical pun about the 'blooming voice' ('*hōraia phōnē*') of the hero. Just as the Greek equivalent for

[1] Proclus (*in Plat. Rem Publ.* 398; p. 274 f., ed. Kroll) says: "Orpheus, as the founder of the Dionysiac mysteries, is said in the myths to have suffered the same fate as the god himself; and the tearing in pieces is one of the Dionysiac rites."

'Ṛibhu' would be, according to all phonetic laws, 'Lapheus,' so the German word 'Albe, Elbe,' compared with 'Orpheus' by other linguists, ought to be 'Alphos' in Greek. Still less satisfactory is Maximilian Mayer's introduction of the Harpies, under their name 'Arpa' or 'Oripsa,' into the entirely alien camp of Orphism. More recent etymologies, among them an old Semitic one, comparing a Hebrew root meaning 'obscure' and the Greek words '*orphnos*' and '*orphnaios*' for 'dark,' or 'Erebos'[1] for the cosmic night, literally grope in the deepest darkness, and are obviously very far from elucidating the character and origin of Orphism. They seem to rest merely on the vague supposition that the name could be derived from the so-called chthonic character of Orpheus, notably from his pilgrimage to the dark underworld. Yet the hero, who tried to bring back, or perhaps originally succeeded in delivering, his wife Eurydice from the terrors of Hades, just as Dionysus rescued Semele, could not easily have been identified with his great enemy, the ruler of perpetual darkness, Aïdes, the 'invisible' one.

Accordingly the evident failure of these explanations leaves but two possibilities: either the name is borrowed from an unknown Prehellenic language, call it Pelasgian, Carian or Lelegian as you please—and then all further research is in vain until the Hittite inscriptions of Asia Minor or Dr. Evans' 'Scripta Minoa' have been deciphered — or, following a hypothesis suggested by Paul Kretschmer for all analogous cases, we have to consider the name as a derivation from an

[1] Which is itself certainly the Semitic '*ereb* ='evening,' that is 'evening-land.' Since this paragraph was written, M. Salomon Reinach has proposed to explain 'Orpheus' as '*le sourcilleux*' (from *ophrys*='brow'). I am afraid, however, that this suggestion will not meet with more general approval than any of the others above quoted.

obsolete Greek word, which at a very early date had entirely or nearly disappeared from secular language.

I think that this is obviously the case with 'Orpheus,' and simply wonder why this perfectly fitting key to the purposely locked and bolted doors of the Orphic *telestērion* has not been used before. Indeed we need no ghost resuscitated from the graves of an Orphic cemetery to tell us what may easily be found not only in Gruppe's learned and valuable article in Roscher's mythological lexicon, but even in every ordinary Greek dictionary.

We have ample evidence[1] that the sacred fish in the sanctuaries of Apollo in Lycia—on the very spot where we are most inclined to presuppose the roots of Ionian Orphism—were called '*orphoi*.' As in many analogous cases, this word does not seem to have been from the beginning a special zoological denomination of a single species, although it is used as such by later authors. Whether the word be originally Lycian, that is to say of Hittite origin, or Semitic, or genuine Greek —there is no reason to give the preference to this or to that assumption—I feel inclined to think that its original meaning was simply 'fish' in general. Later on the use of this obsolete and perhaps foreign word must have been confined to the peculiar kind of *sacred* fish revered at the Lycian sanctuaries.

If this be admitted, the word 'orpheus' is an absolutely regular derivation from that old noun and means simply the 'fisher.' This etymology, plain and artless as it is, fits every possible requirement. First, the name, so explained, is perfectly synonymous with a well-established *epiklēsis* of Dionysus, worshipped

[1] The testimonies will be found in the author's book *Weltenmantel*, p. 672_5, 6.

in the city of Haliæ in Argos under the title of 'Halieus' ('Fisher').[1] Moreover, it corresponds perfectly to the well-known cult-name of that specific Dionysian incarnation 'Zagreus,' universally acknowledged as having been the centre of Orphic rites and beliefs. Being composed of the magnifying prefix *za*—used *e.g.* in *zatheos* (archi-divine), *zadēlos* (very clear, plain), *zatherēs* (glowing hot)—and of the familiar word '*agreus*,' the god's name can mean just as well the 'Great Fisher' as the 'Great Hunter.'

Until now, only the first meaning has been taken into account, and indeed there is no reason for denying its appropriateness. Primitive hunting with nets could be used without considerable change of methods for terrestrial as well as for aquatic animals. We need not wonder, therefore, that both in the Greek and Semitic languages (צד) identical terms were used originally for both the 'hunter' and the 'fisherman.' To avoid possible ambiguity, determinating composites had therefore to be used.

The genealogy of Orpheus affords an excellent instance: the name of his legendary father 'Oiagros' could never mean, as Ernst Maass suggested, the 'lonely hunter,' for the '*grand veneur*' or the '*wilde Jäger*' never hunts alone, *i.e.* without his heavenly host. It must, like 'Meleagros,' signify the 'sheep-hunter' (*oïs* in Greek, *ovis* in Latin = sheep) and points to the well-known rite of the '*kriobolia*,' or ram-slaying, just as 'Leagros' means the 'lion-hunter' and refers to the '*confictio leonum*,' practised in the Kybele cults.[2]

[1] Cp. O. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth. u. Relig. Gesch.*, p. 1720.

[2] Cp. Augustin, *City of God*, 24: "Do the tympana, the civic crowns, the insane agitating of your bodies, the noise of the cymbals, or *the spearing* (confictio) *of the lions* give you any hope of an eternal life?"

'Taurobolos' and 'Aigobolos,' the popular epithets of Artemis and Dionysus, are the characteristic names for the merciless catcher and slaughterer of the sacred bull and the sacred goat. Now there is ample evidence that the hero or the divinity called 'Orpheus' was indeed the 'hunter' as well as the 'fisher.' The familiar scene of Orpheus playing on his lyre amidst a group of fascinated animals of every kind, so frequent in art and literature from Simonides and Æschylus onwards, is generally explained to be an idyllic panegyric on the supreme power of music. Such an interpretation, natural as it must have been to an art-loving, enthusiastic, highly cultivated nation like the classic Greeks—witness Plato's theories on the ethical influence of music—would be entirely out of place among those rough Thracian or Phrygian tribes, accustomed to devour the palpitating flesh of the living bull. No doubt these tribes also conceived music as a charm, but not in the refined spiritual sense of later times. For them the sound of the lyre as well as that of the flute was an enchantment in the most literal sense, a hunting-spell intended to allure the wild beasts into the 'great hunter's' nets.[1]

If anybody doubts this statement, I invite a closer inspection of a very significant passage in the *Natural History* of Ælian (xii. 46), which is invaluable for our purpose, because it professes to render a 'Tyrrhenic,' that is to say again a specific Asia Minor tradition. It relates that wild boars as well as stags were magically

[1] According to Sagard, *Le grand voyage au pays des Hurons*, p. 255 f. (p. 178 of the 2nd edition), the Hurons had special conjurers, who were believed to exercise a powerful influence on the fish by their 'sermons.' The oldest 'hymns' and 'poems' of Orpheus may well have been incantations of the same kind as these rhetorical compositions of the Huronian fish-preachers; similar ideas may even underlie the frequent Christian legends about different Saints preaching to the fishes of the sea.

drawn into the hunting nets by the cunning melodies of a skilled flute-player.

We have, besides this, in Herodotus (i. 141), the very significant simile used by Cyrus in his address to an embassy of the Ionian Greeks. (Note here again the nationality of the actors in this quaint little scene.) A fisherman, said the king, watching some fishes in the sea, played on his flute, in the hope that they would come ashore. Having waited in vain, he took his net and caught them. When the victims floundered in the meshes, he said: "You need not dance now, if you were not willing to dance when I was playing the flute."

As to the somewhat surprising musical experiment, which the Persian King attributes to his fisherman, it is best understood in the light of Varro's note (*De re rust.* iii. 17) on the sacred fish in the lakes of Lydia, which used to gather near the shore when the flute-playing priest called them to the feeding places.

Considering all these testimonies on the use of music as a hunting-charm, we cannot doubt that Orpheus the musician is but the mystic net-hunter himself, whether he is conceived as Leagros, Taurobolos, Aigobolos, Kriobolos or Oiagros, or finally as 'Ichthyobolos,' or 'Fish-catcher,' in the proper sense of 'Orpheus.'

Thus Orpheus-Zagreus-Halieus seems to have been originally the god of a primitive hunting tribe, catching living animals of all kinds, as his worshippers did, after alluring them with musical charms and vocal incantations, devouring them in a raw state, as they used to do, and perhaps occasionally keeping alive an animal big with young, in order to tame its offspring.

In this way he must have developed gradually, together with his worshippers, into a less savage deity, chiefly concerned with the care of tame animals.

With a hunting and fishing tribe the chief office of the priest, or rather sorcerer, must have been the magical increase of fishing and hunting; and accordingly the god or ancestral spirit who had to protect the clan, must have been above all a divine 'hunter' or 'fisher,' while the main interest of a herding population must have been the magical protection of their tame animals, operated by a priest or god, who really deserved the title of a 'good herdsman.' Thus Orpheus, formerly the 'hunter' and 'fisher,' is transformed into Orpheus the 'herdsman,' the 'good shepherd' (Eunomos, Euphorbos), being now no more a *taurobolos*, *aigobolos*, *kriobolos*, or *oiagros*, but a '*boukolos*' and '*poimēn*';[1] Orpheus, not only the cunning 'fisherman' but also the cautious warden of the sacred fish, which know his voice or the sound of his musical instrument and take their food willingly from his hand.

Both titles of Orpheus, 'hunter' and 'herdsman,' intimately connected as they are with animal worship in every possible form, could not but survive even in an agricultural period. We owe to Franz Cumont a splendid little paper on the half-wild cattle-herds of the goddess Anahita in Asia Minor and the rites of catching the animal destined for the sacrifice by means of the so-called taurobolion-rite,—a lifelike picture which recalls the scene of the South American pampas with their half-wild cattle under the guard of the *gauchos*,

[1] *Boukolos* (= cowherd) was the official title of certain Orphic and Dionysiac priests. *Poimēn* (= herdsman) is a well-known *epiklēsis* of Dionysus, Apollo, Pan, Hermes and other gods. Eunomos is the name of a mythic singer and lyre-player (cp. p. 51 n. 2 and 53 n. 1), Euphorbos is the significant name of one of the five *avatārās* of the Samian Pythagoras.

armed with the famous *lasso*, hunters and herdsmen at one and the same time.

If such a state of things persisted even in later antiquity, we may safely expect to find a god or hero called 'hunter' or 'herdsman' wherever animals in a more or less tamed condition are worshipped, or only kept for sacrificial use as sacred animals of a deity; wherever ichthyolatry also was prevalent, we shall expect to find a corresponding priest or god entitled the 'fisher,' or occasionally, where the sacred fish were kept tame in pools, the 'warden of the fish.'

III.

THE CULT OF THE SACRED FISH AND THE WORSHIP OF THE FISHERGOD.

In order to establish a sound historical basis for the above proposed explanation of the name 'Orpheus,' we have now to consider a series of facts that correspond exactly to our anticipations. In Lycia, where the sacred fishes (*orphoi*) and their representative, the divine 'Fish,' Orphos or Di-orphos, the son of Mithra and of the Sacred Stone, were revered,[1] we find the divine Fisherman Orpheus. In Seriphos, where the crawfish was held to be sacred,[2] there is the mythical Dictys the 'Net-fisher,' intimately connected with the legend of Perseus.[3] On the other hand, coins of Tarsus in Cilicia, adorned with the wolves of Apollo Lykios, bear the image of Perseus coupled with an anonymous fisherman holding a fishing-rod, a fishing-basket and a fish; the same local combination of Perseus and the fisherman recurs on a work of art as early as the Hesiodean 'Shield of Herakles.'[4] A female counterpart to this Dictys is the Cretan Artemis or

[1] On Di-orphos see the Pseudo-Plutarchian treatise *De Fluv.* 23, 4. His mother, the 'Sacred Stone,' is nothing else but a well-known cult-symbol of the goddess Cybele. A god of the under-world Orphos, whose 'whip-bearer' (*mastigophoros*) is Hekate (cp. p. 4 n. 2 of this essay), may be found on a Carthaginian imprecative tablet of the Roman period, published by Richard Wünsch (*Rhein. Mus.* (1900) lv. 250).

[2] Plut., *De Sera Num. Vindic.* 17. "I hear that the inhabitants of Seriphos bury dead crawfish. If a living one falls into their nets, they do not keep it, but throw it into the water again. They mourn over the dead ones and say that they are the delight of Perseus, son of Zeus."

[3] Dictys, the good king of Seriphos, catches in his fishing-net (*dikty-on*) the floating box in which are Danaē and the infant. See the article 'Dictys' in Roscher's *Lexicon.*

[4] *Scut. Heracl.* 214-216.

Britomartis Dictynna, just as is the Trœzenian and Epidaurian Saronia[1] to her legendary consort the hunter Saron. Finally the goddess, whom we find represented on archaic Greek intaglios holding on a hook a captured fish, may be identified with Artemis 'Aspalis' (= the 'Fisher' or the 'Angler'), an epithet which Hesychius attributes to the Athamanian dialect.

Even our oldest monument for Greek ichthyolatry —the famous passage about the 'holy fish' (*hieros ichthys*) in the Death of Patroclus saga (*Il.* xvi. 407f.): "As when some man seated on jutting rock from out the sea a holy fish doth take with net and cruel brass"—does not fail to make mention of this anonymous, or perhaps already hieronymous, fisherman with his sacred weapons, the 'all-catching net' (*linos panagreus*), and the 'merciless trident,'—the former being as we know from a significant passage in Habakkuk (i. 14ff.)[2] and from corresponding cuneiform inscriptions, the object of a special cult in Western Asia, in Egypt[3] and probably, as I shall endeavour to prove in a special essay on the Linos-dirges and the passion of the flax-god, in Greece also.

[1] A *sarōn* is a hunting-net according to the glossary of Hesychius. The Saronian gulf on the shores of Thessaly is named after this net-hunter Saron and Artemis Saronia.

[2] "Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto their drag; because by them their portion is fat and their meal plenteous." The net is taken as a symbol for Bēl, "the catch-net, the conqueror of the enemy" in a Sumerian hymn translated by Jastrow, *Relig. Bab. u. Ass.*, p. 490, as a symbol for Ištar in another text, *ibid.*, p. 541. As to Habakkuk's correct explanation of this fetishism, cp. M. Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hindooism* (1891), p. 339: "On particular holy days, the merchant worships his books, the writer his inkstand, the husbandman his plough, the weaver his loom, the carpenter his axe, and the *fisherman his net*. Every object that benefits its possessor, and helps to provide him with a livelihood, becomes for the time being his fetish."

[3] In Khemennu the temple of Theut was called Ḥet Abṭit or 'House of the Net,' as Budge explains because of the holy net worshipped in this sanctuary. We know now from inscriptions about the Osirian mysteries of Abydos, that Theut was believed to leave his temple on a barge and to go a-fishing for the limbs of Osiris in the Nile with his sacred net.

With the Sumerians, a fish-god Ḫa-ni (according to Hrozny's definitive explanation of the Berossian transcript 'Ōannēs'; cp. below p. 46 n. 1), together with his consort Iš-ḫana (the 'house of the fish'), was held in great reverence, and a god Kal, with the *epiklēsis* Zag-ḫa (or 'fisher'),[1] as well as a cult-title Zag-ḫa, the 'provost' or 'warden of the fish,' is recorded in one of the most ancient inscriptions extant, the cylinder B 12_5 of Gudea.

The Semites, who worshipped with funeral rites a fish-god Nūn,[2] Dagon[3] or simply Adōnis[4] 'the Lord,' whom the Greeks called 'Ichthys,' son of Derketō, had certainly also a god called 'Ṣid,' the 'fisherman,' well-known in a diminutive form as Baal-Ṣidōn, the eponymous god of the Phœnician town Ṣidon,[5] and once worshipped (according to place-names such as Beth-ṣaida[6]) in Palestine also. Most probably Ṣid is identical with the legendary 'Diktys' or 'net-fisher,' of Byblos, whom Plutarch (*De Isid.* viii., xv. ff.) men-

[1] Most probably this divinity is meant by the two representations of a god carrying two or five fishes reproduced in *Revue d'Assyriologie* (1905), p. 57, plate ii. Similar images of the divine fisher are reproduced in Milani's *Studi e Materiali*, ii. 19, figs. 133, 134, from Furtwängler's work on ancient cameos, and the *Recueil des Travaux relat. à la Philol. assyr. et égypt.*

[2] On Nunu, Nuni, Nun-gal in Babylonian texts s. Jastrow, *l.c.*, p. 166 ff.

[3] The funeral rites are remembered in the popular etymology, '*dag-on*' (*dag*=fish, '*ōn*=pain, grief, affliction), '*piscis tristitiæ*' ('fish of wailing'), given for the god Dagon of Samuel (I. v. 4) in the *Onomastica Sacra*. Budge (*The Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 303) mentions a god Rem, connecting his name with 'rem=to weep' and comparing—although with all reserve—the *fish-god* Remi, mentioned in the *Book of the Dead*, lxxxiii. 4. On fish-cults in Egypt see Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 18.

[4] See Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* x. 36, on a fish called 'Adōnis.' A strange tale is told of the amphibious life of this creature; it sleeps on the rocky shore after leaving the water with a leap, and returns to the water when threatened by a bird of prey. This nonsense is clearly a rationalistic travesty of the god Adonis' alternate sojourning in the over- and under-world, the latter being considered as a watery abyss by the majority of oriental cosmologies.

[5] Evidently with reference to the mournful character of this cult, Justin (118_3) translates Sid-ōn by '*piscator tristitiae*' ('fisher of mourning').

[6] Even to this day a local sanctuary exists at Beth-ṣaida which the Arabs call the 'shrine of Ali-eṣ-Ṣajjad' ('Ali the Fisherman').

tions as the drowned and lamented son of Astarte and Melkart-Malkander, and with the divine fisherman, represented on Phœnician coins of Carteia.[1] The parallelism of this divinity with the Greek 'Orpheus' becomes most evident if we remember that the Phœnician mythologist Philo Herennius, a native of Byblos, describes Ṣidon as a singer, gifted with a marvellous voice, and the inventor of hymns of praise to the gods. On the other hand Ernest Assman[2] has but recently suggested that the enigmatical Greek name Posidon or Poseidon for the god who holds the fisher-spear and the sacred tunny-fish, is nothing but the vulgar form Bo-Ṣidon for our Baʿal-Ṣidon, like Bo-Samin for Bal-Samin.

In India, where sacred fish are still kept, Viṣhṇu is frequently worshipped in the form of a fish.[3] The Buddhists of Nepāl also revere Avalokiteshvara under the name of Matsyendranātha, 'Lord of Fishes.'[4]

The ancient Britons, finally, held all fish as sacred and scrupulously avoided (according to Dio Cassius *Ep.* xxvi. 12) eating any of them "in spite of their great frequency in those regions." And indeed, as we should have expected, an image of a divine fisherman with a pointed cap, hooking a salmon, has been found in the sanctuary of the Celtic god Nodon, unearthed in Lydney Park on the shore of the river Sabrina.[5]

[1] Mionnet, i. 9, 54. [2] *Philologus*, lxvii, p. 185; *Floss der Odyssee*, p. 27.

[3] Cp. *e.g.*, Kielhorn, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Calcutta, 1899, no. 354; cp. p. 73_2.

[4] See Pischel, *Sitz. Ber. Berl. Akad.*, 1905, p. 521.

[5] Cp. E. Hübner, *Das Heiligtum des Nodon*, *Bonner Jahrb.*, 1879, pp. 29-46.

IV.

THE FISHERGOD IN ANCIENT ORIENTAL URANOGRAPHY. BASSAREUS—THE FISHING FOX.

A GROUP of divine beings, common to Sumerian, Semitic, and Indian religion, and to the Prehellenic cults of Asia Minor, may well be expected to have left distinct traces in classical as well as in Oriental uranography. Indeed we find a whole series of constellations plainly corresponding to the alleged features of these mythological images. First of all the rite of fishing affords a satisfactory explanation for the curious fact that both the heavenly Fish are fastened by a long piece of yarn, mentioned already in cuneiform inscriptions as the *dur* or *rikiš nunu*, the 'fish yarn,' the *linon* of the Greek texts. Chinese uranography, originally derived (according to P. Kugler's classic demonstrations) from Babylonian sources through Indian intermediaries, also delineates a hunting-net (*pi*) round the stars $\alpha\ \theta\ \gamma\ \delta\ \epsilon$ of the Bull, and another one (*tschang*) round $\upsilon\ \nu\ \phi\ \mu\ \lambda\ \kappa$ Hydræ, probably destined to catch either the Hydra herself or the neighbouring Lion. Evidently as a counterpart to this 'fish yarn,' Teukros the Babylonian mentions a group of stars called the Trident in the neighbourhood of the Fish.

Secondly, a constellation Halieus, or 'Fisherman,' is found, just where we should expect it, namely, near

the Fish, as a '*paranatellon*' to the Ram in the lists of Teukros.[1]

For different reasons which cannot be developed here at length, we are constrained to identify this Greek constellation with the well-known group of the famous 'hunter' Orion, whose principal star the Arabian 'Betelgeuze' had the Sumerian name of KAK-SIDI, which was explained by the Semites as the 'hunting' star, or, through a word-play on '*ssādu*,' the 'red-glowing' star (compare the equivalent names of Ṣidon and Phœnix). Orion corresponds mythically to Nimrod, the 'mighty hunter before the Lord' of the Bible. Around this constellation we find—and this can hardly be a casual coincidence—all the requisites of Orphic mythology.

At the feet of the gigantic Huntsman, we see the celestial Bull, the faithful image of the bull-god Zagreus, torn in pieces by the maddened women, who immediately afterwards murdered Orpheus himself.[2] Next the Bull comes the Ram, as a celestial reflex of the sacred lamb (*eriphos*) caught in the merciless hunting-net of the 'sheep-hunter.' By the Bull we find also the celebrated 'Lyre of Orpheus' (better known as the Pleiades), the powerful musical charm of the Great Hunter. The hunting-net itself is clearly visible in Orion's right hand on the *Globus Farnese*. It is generally called *lagōbolion* (or net for catching a hare), on account of the constellation of the Little Hare under

[1] Boll, *Sphāra* (Leipzig, 1904, p. 263), has been too rash in rejecting this statement as a corruption of the original text, merely because the astrological influence of this constellation is said to produce not 'fishermen' but 'hunters.' This apparent discrepancy is caused only by an inadequate translation of the well-known Semitic word '*ṣid*,' meaning both 'fisher' and 'hunter.' The whole trouble could have been avoided, if Teukros had been clever enough to call the constellation Agreus instead of Halieus.

[2] Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 33-38.

Orion's feet, but it could certainly just as well—as the general names in Chinese uranography prove—be called *kriobolion*, *taurobolion* and *ichthyobolion*, or a net for catching ram, bull or fish. The miniature of Orion in the celebrated *Codex Vossianus* puts in his hand, instead of the hunting-net, the well-known crosier (*pedum*) of the herdsman, so characteristic for the mythical type of the Good Shepherd, Orpheus Poimēn, in all its variations; attesting by the way the correctness of Hesychius' statement that Orion was primarily called Boōtēs, the 'guardian of the bull,' a denomination answering not only to Orion's position in the heavens, but also to the name Sib-zi-an-na, the 'faithful herdsman of the sky,' applied by the Babylonians to certain stars of the Bull-group.

The most striking fact, however, is this: Salomon Reinach has written a brilliant memoir on the fox-dress of the Thracian Orpheus, which occurs on Greek vase-paintings and is intended to identify the hero—very appropriately as we can now see—with the fox, the most cunning 'hunter' of the animal kingdom; that is to say, with the 'Thracian' fox-god Dionysos Bassareus.[1] Now in this very same Babylonian uranography a constellation called the Fox is placed immediately beside the heavenly Fish.[2] If it is easy to understand that the sacred fox could represent the mighty hunting god, it is more difficult to see how he could possibly manage to fish, although he was

[1] *Bassara* is a Thracian word for 'fox.' It is of high interest to note that Hesychius' gloss, "*bassaria*, foxes are thus called by the Libyans," is confirmed by the existence of a Coptic word, *baschar*, *baschor*, for 'jackal,' occurring also in Reinisch's dictionary of the Afar- and Saho-languages (cp. *Muséon*, Nouv. Série, 1904, v. p. 279f.) But Count Charencey (*l.c.*) is not justified in adducing such a fortuitous linguistic coincidence as a new proof confirming the old fable of the Egyptian origin of Orphism.

[2] Cp. III. Rawlinson 53 a, 66/67: "When in the month Adar the fish star and the fox star and the star of the God Mauma rise before the sun," etc.

certainly believed to do so by ancient zoologists. The solution, however, is given by a well-known popular tale or fable,[1] most probably, as they all are, of Oriental origin. The fox was believed to fish with his tail, using it as a bait for the unsuspicious denizens of the water. Such an absurdity would never have been invented, if there had not been important motives for connecting the notions of the fox-god and the fisher-god himself; just as the well-known tale of the fox and the grapes is certainly based on some forgotten myth of the fox-dressed vine-god[2] Dionysos Bassareus.

All this is easily explained. If the Zodiac really was, as we are entitled to believe, the celestial projection and effigy of an ancient calendar and sacrificial time-table, it is plausible enough that we should find, not only the settled yearly circle of animal sacrifices, beginning with the fish, followed by the ram, bull and lion, and ending with the consecration of the first ear, but also an image of the priestly functionary as the hunter, guardian and finally killer of the sacred beasts. The sacrificial functions of this *retiarius*[3] or 'net-hunter,' are not only clearly reflected on the sky, but also distinctly traceable in familiar myths.

The oldest instance is the Babylonian god Marduk (most probably to be looked for in the constellation of

[1] *E.g.* Aelian, *Nat. anim.* vi. 24.

[2] Cp. *Song of Solomon*, ii. 15, the "foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines."

[3] The full-armoured Roman gladiator, fighting against his naked rival armed only with a net and a trident, so familiar to English readers from Bulwer Lytton's *Last Days of Pompeii*, is certainly the survival of an old Etruscan hieratic performance. It is interesting, therefore, to recall the song, quoted by Festus (*De Signific. Verb.* p. 233, Lindemann): "When the *retiarius* fights against the *murmillo* the following song is sung:

"*Non te peto, piscem peto;*	(Not thee I chase, I chase the fish
Quid fugis me, Galle?"	Why dost thou flee me, Gallus?

Pittakos, the wise tyrant of Mitylēnē, is said (Festus, *l.c.*) to have fought with the net and the trident against Phryno. Hugo Winckler thinks that this legend originated under the influence of the different myths analysed below.

Orion and the Bull) who catches in his enormous net the monster Tiāmāt, represented in the heavens by the Whale or Cetus (*Kētos*), spearing her with his terrible weapon, the *kēto-phonos triaina* of the Greek fisherman, and dividing her 'like a fish' into two halves. In the very same way Yahwè fights with a great hunting-net against the monster-fish Leviāthān according to a distinctly mythical allusion in *Ezekiel* (xxxii. 2ff.). Moreover, we cannot doubt that the German myth of the god Thor, angling for the Midgard-snake from a boat, is a distant mirage of this primeval Oriental myth. Many readers of these lines may have seen the celebrated second Gosford cross—or at least the *calco* in the Victoria and Albert Museum—upon one of the sides of which this scene is represented as a simile for Christ's victory over the ancient dragon. We find the same conception, expressed in a very *baroque* way, not only in the homilies of St. Gregory, Honorius Augustodunensis, Rupert Tuitiensis and others, but as late as in Herrad von Landsberg's *Hortulus Deliciarum*, where God the Father is portrayed using the genealogical tree of Jesus as a fishing-rod and the cross as a hook, in order to catch the monster Leviāthān.

Accordingly we may infer that Lucian[1] was quite well informed, when he explained the familiar scene of Orpheus among his beasts by reference to the celestial animals of the Zodiac, and we have only to make clear how it may have come about that the figure of man and obvious symbols of the human soul, such

[1] Or whoever wrote the treatise *De astrol.*, *ch.* 10, where the seven strings of Orpheus' lyre are identified with the seven planets, and the figures of a man—evidently Aquarius—a ram, a lion, and a bull specially enumerated in the description of the surrounding animals.

as Psychē's well-known butterfly,[1] are to be found side by side with the fish among this assembly of fascinated victims of the great Fisher and Hunter of all living beings.

[1] On the butterfly and the fish on Orphic monuments cp. Gruppe in Roscher's *Lexicon*, *s. v.* 'Orpheus,' c. 1116_{44}.

V.

THE RITES OF THE FISH-CULT.

THE problem, how Orpheus, who was from the first a fisher-god, came to be considered—as he certainly was—a 'Fisher of men' (just as Hermes Poimēn was believed to be a Poimandrēs or 'Shepherd of men') still remains to be solved.

We cannot do this, however, without glancing rapidly at the different rites performed by the human prototypes of the mythical Fisher, the priests of the fish-sanctuaries in Western Asia. The original aim of their ceremonies was certainly to secure an abundant catch for themselves[1] or for the fishing population of the coast. For this purpose they made use first of all of magical imagery; hence the production of fish-shaped idols and of the vocal and musical incantations which underlie the traditions of Orpheus having been the first singer and musician. In addition to this they allured the denizens of the water by throwing in food at certain places,[2] just as a modern angler would do. Divination from the movements of the sacred fish towards the bait[3] was the natural offspring of these

[1] According to Pausan. i. 38, 1, the fish in the brooks near Eleusis belonged exclusively to the priests. In Delos the right of fishing on the coast was reserved for Apollo (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* vi. 19f.; xiv. 309f., line 36f.). In Halicarnassus the gods owned a *thynnoskopion*, and the tunny-fishing on the whole coast, etc.

[2] The feeding of the sacred fish is described by Aelian, *H. A.* viii. 5.

[3] On this practice, the so-called *ichthyomancy*, cp. Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. de la divination*, Paris, 1879, p. 151 f., W. Robertson Smith, *Relig. of the Sem.*, p. 178n., Blau, *Altjüd. Zauberwesen*, p. 65, Hunger, *Babyl. Tieromina*, p. 168.

feeding rites;[1] Orpheus the singing, harping or piping fisher became Orpheus the prophet. But in the end the catching of the sacred animals must always have been the main feature of this so-called worship.

No doubt the victims were sometimes left alive and kept in sacred pools, perhaps after having been finally adorned, much to their discomfort, with precious golden trinkets engraved with hieratic formulæ, which at times developed into entire poems—a custom which explains in a very simple way the strange coupling of titles for the Babylonian god Lugalkidia, called at once the "fish and the writing-table of Bel."[2] But in most cases cooking or roasting and then sacrificial eating followed the capture of the holy fish.[3]

We have now to note a peculiar feature of this latter ceremony. The priests of the ichthyomorphous deity were themselves disguised as fishes, either by wearing a fish-skin over their heads and bodies, as illustrated on the well-known Babylonian stone-slabs in the Kuiyunjik Gallery of the British Museum, or by fastening fish-tails to their backs, as may be seen on a quaint black-figured Cumean vase-painting. This must have been a hunting-charm too, at least originally. It agrees perfectly with the widespread and still prevailing custom which hunters have of wearing some of the spoils taken from their victim, in order to maintain their power over similar animals. Notwithstanding this primitive purpose, the rite must have

[1] The bronze-doors of Balawat show the Assyrians standing on the shore of Lake Van before a series of cult-symbols feeding or catching fish for sacrificial purposes.

[2] Cp. Hrozny, *Mitt. d. Vorderasiat. Gesellsch* viii, 1903, p. 101.

[3] Only the priest is allowed to eat the holy fish in a sacrificial meal. Cp. Mnaseas, *fr.* 32, Müller iii. 155; Diog. Laert. viii. 34. According to the inscription, No. 258[4], Dittenberger, Syll., if one of the sacred fishes perishes, the priests must eat it the very same day *on the altar*.

been differently interpreted in later times. We can be almost certain that, both by eating the god, and thus bringing his substance into the interior of one's own body, and also by wrapping one's own frame in the god's former covering, the intention was to establish the closest possible connection, perhaps even the identification, of the deity and its worshippers. W. Robertson Smith has shown, in his masterly essay on 'Sacrifice' in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, that this peculiar combination of rites is the characteristic feature of the so-called totemistic theriolatry, a belief the fundamental dogma of which consists in treating the offspring of man as an ever-repeated reincarnation of the tribe's sacred animal. I need not enter here upon the controversy concerning the origin of such a creed. It will be sufficient to remind ourselves of instances such as the ant-tribe (Myrmidones) in Ægina, the snake-tribe of Parion, the cicada-tribe in Attica, the seal-tribe in Phocis, and ultimately of the Prehellenic stork-tribes of the Pelasgi. In the special case of fish-totemism the primitive burial rite of throwing the dead into the sea as a prey for the fishes, natural as it was to a sea-faring population,[1] or at least to the inhabitants of the coast, combined with the not less natural habit of living upon the flesh of the same fish,[2] and last, not least, the phylogenetic coincidence that the human embryo possesses rudi-

[1] On the familiar idea of corpses being devoured by fishes (a Mediterranean seafarer would first think of the sharks in this respect) cp. Homer, *Il.* xxi. 203, 122; *Od.* xv. 480, xiv. 135, xxiv. 290. The Soloman islanders use wooden fish-images as coffins, according to Edge, Partington, Joice, Davis and Codrington (*Globus*, lxxxvi. 368).

[2] A good instance for a tribal name derived from the main food of the people is offered by Marquardt's explanation (*Eranšahr*, p. 156) of the Scythian 'Massagētai.' This scholar reads the name in question '*massjaka*' (from Iran. *masya*, Skr. *matsya*=fish)='fisheaters,' and identifies the Massagetes with the half-mythic 'Fisheaters' (*Ichthyophagoi*) of the Greek geographers.

mentary gill-clefts in an early stage of development —a fact which could not have for long escaped the attention of the medicine-men and priests—affords a satisfactory reason for the belief that men were but reincarnated fish. As a fact, throughout the whole of Australia the natives believe that men are changed into fishes after their death, and therefore scrupulously avoid fish-eating.[1] The same taboo prevails among the African tribes of the Wamka, Wakamba, Galla and Somali, for they think their dead become snakes[2] and consider fish a kind of snake.[3] Some of the American aboriginals restrict this superstition in so far that only their medicine-men are expected to become fish after death[4]—most probably because these sorcerers dress in fish-skins during the performance of their magic fishing-rites.

[1] Westgarth, *Australia Felix*, Edinburgh, 1848, p. 93.

[2] Lippert, *Seelenkult*, Berlin, 1881, p. 38; Andrée, *Ethnograph. Parall.*, p. 125.

[3] The same idea seems to underlie the saying of Jesus in *Luke* 11$_{11}$, about the son asking for a fish and the father giving him a snake.

[4] Th. Koch, *Animismus d. südamerikan. Indianer*, Leyden, 1900, p. 14.

VI.

FISH-TOTEMISM IN HELLAS, IN SYRIA, IN LATIUM AND IN EGYPT.

Most readers of these lines know the anthropogonical theories of old Ionian philosophy, traditionally connected with the name of Anaximander, stating that men were descendants of fish.[1] This theory has sometimes been considered as an anticipation of Darwinism, or at least of the prevalent modern belief in the origin of organic life on the borders of land and sea. But such an interpretation is devoid of all plausibility; on the contrary, the right clue for understanding it is suggested by Plutarch himself, to whom we owe the whole quotation from Anaximander. He compares the theory with the traditional opinion of the descendants "from the old (hero) Hellēn," who believed in an intimate kinship between their clan and certain fishes.[2]

[1] Plutarch, *Symp.* viii. 8, 7, p. 730 E.: "Men primordially originated in the interior of fishes and were nourished therein like sharks (*galeoi*)." The text is corrupt; the correction, ascertained by comparison with Plut., *De Soll. Anim.* 33, 982, is due to Döhner and has been accepted by Diels, *Fragm. Presocr. Philos.* p. 17, l. 29. The comparison looks to the well-known fact that sharks do not lay eggs, but procreate living young. "When they had become strong enough to help themselves they came forth and went on shore." Cp. Aëtios, v. 19, 4; Censorinus, 4, 7; [Plut.] *Strom.* 2 (Theophrast.).

[2] "The descendants of the old hero Hellēn sacrifice also to the ancestral (*patrogeneiō*) Poseidon, for they believe, as the Syrians do, that man has originated in the 'moist.' Therefore they also worship the fish as a kinsman (*homogenē*) and foster-brother (*syntrophon*); this is a more reasonable philosophy than that of Anaximander, who does not say that fish and men derived their origin from a common element, but that," etc. (for the rest see previous note). The value of this learned Plutarchian comparison is still more emphasised by the fact that Anaximander's anthropogony was really connected, as we should expect it of a totemistic belief, with a tabu of the ancestral animal. See Plutarch, *l.c.*: "Anaximander, considering the fish as the common father and mother of mankind, zealously deprecated eating it."

This statement clearly furnishes a perfectly fitting key to the whole problem. We know from a passage of Ælian,[1] that the 'holy fish' mentioned without a proper name in Homer, was elsewhere called *(h)ellops*, *(h)ellopos* or *(h)ellos* the 'silent one,'[2] or with a characteristic so-called Cretan termination[3] *hellēn*,—an appropriate enough name for the speechless gods of the ocean. Moreover we learn from Ælian that this was a dogma of certain mysteries, and he declines expressly to dwell at greater length on the subject. But if any mysteries are to be connected with the '*hieros ichthys*' we can now safely venture to identify them with Orphism, or the religion of the sacred Lycian fish *orphoi*. Moreover I would here call to mind the fact that the aboriginal, primitive and Prehellenic cult of the sacred oak, the sacred double-axe, the dove-goddess, afterwards called Diōnē, and the 'swimming' god Naios, afterwards identified with Zeus at Dodona,[4] was conducted by two

[1] *Nat. Anim.* viii. 28. "It is believed that what the poet [*sci.* Homer] calls the 'holy fish' is the *ellops* [=the 'mute one']. There is a tradition (*logos*) that it is a very rare fish and caught only in the Pamphylian sea, and even there seldom. If they catch one they rejoice over their good luck, and adorn themselves and their boats with wreaths, and celebrate the event with great noise and with flute-playing. Others say that it is not this fish but the *anthias* that *makes the sea safe*. . . But it is neither convenient nor my business to reveal the *forbidden mysteries* of nature."

[2] In Hesiod, *Scut. Herakl.* 212, Empedocl. *fr.* 117, Diels, and Epicharmus (Athen. vii. 28[2] d) '*ellopos ichthys*' = 'silent fish' occurs as a standing formula. Mrs. Rhys Davids was kind enough to remind me, after I had read this paper at Oxford, that 'the silent ones' is also a very common epithet of fish in Buddhistic literature.

[3] Cp. for example, the Phœnician harbour Arados with the Cretan Aradēn. Both places have the same Semitic name, meaning 'place of refuge'; yet in the one case the common Greek ending —*os*, in the other the archaic Cretan termination —*ēn* has been appended.

[4] *Dōdon* itself means 'dove.' To the above-mentioned sacred fish 'Adonis' corresponds the fish whom the ancient Greeks called '*Zeus*.' Its Latin name is '*faber*,' that is the 'carpenter,' evidently with regard to the sacred double-axe of the Dodonæan god, which the Greeks compared to the 'cutting tail' of the hellos-fish (cp. p. 36, n. 4). The modern Greek fishermen call it '*christopsaro*' or 'christ fish,' sometimes also '*sanpiero*'; the latter name is of course Italian and occurs also in the fuller form '*pesce di S. Pietro*,' 'fish of S. Peter.' The German names '*Heringskönig*,' *Mond-* and '*Sonnenfisch*'—beside the classic '*Petersfisch*'—also point to an ancient cult of this animal.

different classes of ministers: by priestesses called 'doves' (*peleiades*),[1] and by priests who slept on the naked soil (*chamaieunai*) and never washed their feet (*aniptopodes*),[2] mentioned already in the *Iliad* under the name of *helloi* or *selloi*, the 'silent ones.' I now think there will be little objection if we venture to translate these hieratic names by the 'fishes,' and thus couple the sacred dove with the sacred fish,[3] for this is a combination very well known from the sanctuaries of Western Asia, and different totems for the men and for the women are regularly required by the primitive laws of exogamy.[4]

[1] Herodot. II. 54; Sophocl., *Trach.* 170; Strabo, vii. 7, 12; Suidas *s.v.* Dodona.

[2] The same tabu, namely, sleeping on the naked soil and not washing the dusty feet, was (according to Lucian) enjoined on the pilgrims going to and returning from the sanctuary of the Syrian goddess.

[3] The statue of the fish-goddess Atargatis was surmounted, according to Lucian's description, by a dove. The statue of the Prehellenic earth-goddess in Phigalia (Pausan. viii. 5, 8) held a fish in one hand and a dove in the other. A coin reproduced by A. B. Cook, *Class. Rev.*, 1904, p. 416, fig. 10, shows the oak-Zeus (Askraios) standing between two trees, surmounted by the sacred doves, and holding a fish in each hand. A stater from Cyzicus reproduced by Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, ii. 73, fig. 258, shows an omphalos stone with two doves and one fish. This group is particularly interesting because the name, *sūra*, of the Apollo-sanctuary in Lycia, where the sacred *orphoi*-fishes were revered, is an old word, common to all Semitic languages (Syr. *šerrā*, Heb. *śor*, Arab. *surrā*), meaning 'navel'=*omphalos* (cp. my note, *Philologus*, lxviii., p. 141, 89c). Even on Christian engraved seals (see Pitra's *Spicil. Sol.* iii., p. 577, no. 97), we find the fish, coupled with a tree, surmounted by the dove (no. 99, etc.). See also 55 and 57, where we find a vine, a dove and a fish; and also nos. 34, 35, 36, 37 and 40. It should also be remembered that 'Jonah,' the name of the prophet swallowed by the mythic fish, means 'Dove' in Hebrew.

[4] The same intimate connection as between the symbols of the dove and the fish seems to exist between the symbols of the fish and the axe. In Dodona Hellos, the presupposed '*Fish*,' the founder of the sanctuary, is said to have been a woodcutter (*dryotomos*, Pind., *fr. cit. schol. Il.* xvi. 234; Serv., Virg. *Æn.* iii. 466); his *axe* was shown there in Philostratus' time (*Imagg.* ii. 33, 1). If therefore Strabo (p. 328) calls the Helloi '*tom-ouroi*' we shall, with A. B. Cook (*Class. Rev.*, 1904, xvii. 180) connect the first part of this epithet with *temnein* ('to cut'), and take the second, instead of with Cook as a termination like that of the words *stauros*, *arura*, etc., for the noun *ouros*, 'tail.' Then the whole word would signify 'those with the *cutting tail*,' and be based on the very natural comparison between a *fishtail* and the sacred *double-axe*. (Cp. names like Germ. *Hammerhai*, *Sägefisch*, for different kinds of Mediterranean sharks; p. 35 n. 4.) This would give a good explanation for the facts that a well-known marine-god with a fishtail is called Phorkys (=Pherekys, Berekys; cp. *parashu* and *pelekys*, 'double-axe'; see the present

Now it has long been admitted that the most glorious name of classic antiquity, 'Hellēnes,' as the 'Graioi' called themselves after the Deucalionic flood,[1] is derived from the cult-title of these Dodonean 'Helloi,' who are found also in the island of Eubœa. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Möllendorf has established the convincing transition from *psellos* (*psellizein*=to lisp), *sellos* (Lat. *silere*), *hellos* to *ellos*, *ellops*, *ellopos*, yet wondering why in the world not a foreign population (as is the case with the synonymous denominations *barbari* and *niemiec*[2]) but the Greeks themselves should have called

writer's note, *Philologus*, lxviii. 126); that Phryxos (cp. Phorkys, the leader of the Phryges in the Homeric ship-catalogue; Phrixos, the 'curled' ram, is a secondary form) is coupled with Hellē, the female 'fish'; that Prof. Newberry has recently found a Libyan god Ḫa (pronounced Gha), represented by the symbol of the sacred axe in Egyptian inscriptions (s. *Transactions IIIrd Intern. Congr. Hist. Rel.* ii., p. 184), while a word pronounced *gha* is written with the hieroglyph of a fish (Erman, *gypt. Gramm.* 180; Hommel, *Der babyl. Ursprung der ägypt. Cultur*, p. 63, no. 26, compares the Sumeric *ḫa*, pronounced *gha*, meaning 'fish'); that the Carian axe-god Zeus Labraundos possesses a pool with holy *fish* (Ælian, *Nat. Anim.* xii. 30); that a Cretan vase-painting of the Minoan period (*Annals of the British School of Athens*, ix., 1902-3, p. 115, fig. 75) gives us a *fish* and a *double-axe*, while an Assyrian cylinder in the British Museum (no. 89,470) illustrates the sacrifice of a fish to a divinity, represented by the symbol of an erected axe. Even in a Christian inscription from the cemetery of S. Priscilla (Pitra, *Spic. Sol.* iii., p. 574, no. 39; Bosio, *Roma Sotteranea*, p. 506, Aringhi, ii. 259), the traditional Dodonean symbols of the dove sitting on the sacred tree, the axe and the fish are coupled in the old way, although they are certainly used here with reference to the baptismal sermon of St. John, where the axe of Yahwè (*Psalm* xxxiii. 2) is said to threaten the barren trees of the unfaithful, while the trees bearing good fruit—namely, those upon whom the dove of the Holy Spirit descends, that is to say, those reborn as 'fishes' by the baptism—will be spared.

[1] Aristotle (*Meteor.* A 14, p. 352a, 28ff., Bekker) says that before the Deucalionic deluge the Greeks called themselves Graioi, afterwards Hellenes. This statement has certainly a mythological basis, for after the flood, related in the Babylonian Gilgameš-epic, the goddess Ishtar complains that her creatures, namely men, have become 'like the brood of fish'; that is to say they are swimming about helplessly in the water. The Deucalionic flood-myth is distinctly localised at Delphi; Deucalion and the hero Hellēn are mentioned in the same (principally) Delphic genealogy. The common name of Hellenes for the different Greek clans was chiefly propagated by the Delphic amphiktyony. If then Apollo is a god imported—through Crete—from Asia Minor, the flood-story—occurring also at Dodona—and the name 'fish' for men must belong together and to the same Prehellenic civilisation, to be found all over the Balkan Peninsula, the Ægæan Islands, Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor. It is Delphic religion—remember that Dionysos Zagreus was especially worshipped at Delphi—that made the old, originally totemistic name popular all over the different branches of the newly united Greek nation.

[2] The Slavic name applied to the neighbouring German population.

their own people the Hellenes or Sellenes,[1] that is, the 'silent' or 'mute' or 'muttering ones.' The solution of this puzzle is now to hand.

Those who were descended from the famous old Hellos-Hellēn believed in a totemistic kinship between themselves and the sacred Fish, and therefore called themselves the 'silent ones,' the 'fishes.' That this Prehellenic and, as we may safely say, Orphic doctrine lies at the bottom of Anaximander's theory, should not be contested on the ground that the philosopher does not call the mythic ancestral fish either *orphos* or *hellops*, but *galeos*, that is 'shark'; for, just in the same way as the god Mithra has a son called Di-orphos, so Apollo, who is so often identified with Mithra in Asia Minor, has a son called Galeos (='Shark'), the mythical ancestor of a family or congregation of priests and prophets, called the Galeōtai,[2] exactly corresponding to the Dodonean Helloi, and mentioned—of course not by chance—in Attica and Sicily, the very centres of

[1] The Arcadians were proud of having inhabited their country long before the Greek invasion. They called themselves therefore '*pro-sellēnoi*,' the 'pre-hellenic' population. The Attic comedy made fun of this local or racial pride and made the Arcadians boast that their nation was older than the Moon ('*Arkades pro-selēnoi*'). Cp. the quotations, *s.v.* '*proselēnoi*,' in the *Thesaurus* of Stephanus. Thus the same change of initial letter is attested for Hellenes-Sellenes, as for the Helloi-Selloi at Dodona.

[2] Or Galeoi. The above cited Cumean vase-painting shows most probably a dance of the Galeotæ or shark-priests. A very early cult of the shark is attested by the names of the Babylonian gods Laḫmu and Laḫamu, derived according to Hommel from the West Semitic word 'luḫm,' for 'shark.' As the word LḪM signifies, according to Houtsma (*Zeitschr. f. alttest. Wiss.* xxii. 329ff.), also a 'storm' or 'whirlwind,' the Semites may have considered the shark as a marine storm-demon, just as other fish—the *remor* or *echineis* of the *Physiologus*—were believed to produce the dreaded calms. According to Mnaseas (in Athenæus, vii. 62, p. 361d.; cp. ix. 403a.) the Syrian fish god 'Ichthys,' the son of Atargatis, was coupled with 'Hēsychia,' and had a daughter called 'Galēnē.' Both these names signify the sea-calm, and it is most probable that the Greek word-play '*galeos-galēnē*' corresponds to the above quoted (cp. p. 35 n. 1 about the *anthias*) ambiguity of the Semitic word for 'shark.' The reader will, of course, remember that the power of calming sea-storms is attributed by Pagan legend to Pythagoras, by the Gospel (*Mk.* 6_{51}) to the mystic ΙΧΘΥΣ of Christianism.

sixth-century Orphism.[1] But the conclusive argument is that the peculiar kind of shark which the Greeks called *galeos*, and whose flesh was believed—at least in Rhodes—to have a most powerful life-restoring energy, was surnamed by the Rhodians '*alōpēx*,' the 'fox' of the sea; from this significant coincidence we may safely infer that the fox-dress of the Thracian 'Fisher' Orpheus was probably worn also by the Sicilian Shark-priests. Most likely *orphos* and *galeos* are originally only two different names, the one Lycian, the other Greek, for the peculiar kind of shark known to modern zoologists by the name of *squales vulpes Linnæi*.

Now, if the totemistic origin of the name 'Hellēnes' be admitted, we should expect to find corresponding views elsewhere, especially in Western Asia. Indeed, Plutarch, in the above-quoted passage, already compares the opinion of the Syrians on this subject, with the quoted views of the so-called 'Hellēnes.' If we further, find a very old tribal name, 'Ḫa-ni,' used as well in the low-lands of the Euphrates as in ethnically corresponding parts of Asia Minor, I do not see how we can avoid connecting this name with the Sumerian fish-gods Ḫa-ni or Ḫa-zal,[2] the 'Fish' or the 'Devourer of fish,' with his wife Išḫanna or Ḫanna,[3] and, in general, with the well-established old Sumerian word 'ḫa' for 'fish.' Accordingly the Hittite Syrians, or at least one of their principal tribes, also called themselves the 'Fishes,' evidently with reference to the fish-dress of their national totem-priesthood.

[1] The proofs will be found on pp. 672_8, 678_1 of the author's *Weltenmantel*.

[2] The cuneiform ideogram admits of both readings. And indeed one Greek rendering of the name is '*Iannēs Ichthyophagos*.' (Hippolyt. *Philos.* p. 134_{90}, Du.-Schn.)

[3] Cp. *Revue de l'Assyriologie*, 1909, p. 56, the dedication of Dungi, king of Lugal 'To Ḫanna, his Lady.'

Another occidental instance of a similar belief may perhaps be found in the old enigmatical name 'Camasene' for Latium, if we are justified in explaining it as 'Fishland' in connection with the certainly not Greek, but probably Italic word '*kamasēn*,' which the Sicilian poet and philosopher Empedokles (*Fr.* 72 Diels) used for 'fish' according to the Grammarian Athenæus (vii. 334B). In any case the supposed existence of a prehistoric Latin fish-totemism would best explain the fact that on the day of the Volcanalia, the Roman prætor used to sacrifice living "*fishes instead of human souls*" to the god of the sacred fire.[1]

The same idea of the fish as a simile or representative of the human soul is finally to be traced in Egypt, in so far as on a recently published sarcophagus of the Hellenistic period, the withdrawing soul of the deceased owner is *not* represented in the usual shape of the man-headed Ba-bird, but by an unmistakable image of the most holy 'sharpsnout' (*oxyrhynchos*), the very fish which is said (in Plutarch's treatise, *De Iside*, 18) to have devoured the generative parts of Osiris, and which may therefore have been considered as an incarnation of the god or of the '*Osirified*' soul. It is true that this explanation of the painting, which Prof. Spiegelberg has set forth in the *Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft*, xii. 574f. ('*Der Fish als Symbol der Seele*'), has been contested by other Egyptologists. Mr. P. D. Scott-Moncrieff (*Church Quart. Rev.*, Oct., 1909) seems to consider this sarcophagus as the coffin of a Christian, and the sacred sharpsnout as a variant of the familiar Christian 'fish' or ΙΧΘΥΣ-*tessera*, while Prof. Alfred Wiedemann takes it as an image of the mythic fish Ȧnt—Ȧnt and Abtu are the faithful companions of the

[1] Varro, *De ling. lat.* vii. 20; Festus, p. 238.

sun on its daily course—the sight of which is so fervently desired by the soul of the deceased according to *The Book of the Dead* (ch. xv. line 24). As, however, there is no doubt that the Egyptian Oxyrhynchites and the nomes and cities of Oxyrhynchos as well as those of Phagroriopolis and Latopolis derive their names in the regular totemistic way from the sacred Egyptian fishes,[1] it does not make a great difference whether Prof. Spiegelberg's very plausible view be finally accepted or not.

[1] Cp. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 340 ff.

VII.

THE FISHERGOD AS A CULTURE-HERO AND TEACHER OF HUMANITY.—ḪANNI-ŌANNĒS.

We have already observed how a special form of divination—analogous to the oracles which the Romans obtained from the eating of the sacred birds—the so-called 'ichthyomancy' arose from the primitive practice of fishermen feeding their victims at certain selected fishing spots. Such mantic rites together with the use of vocal and musical incantations (cp. above p. 16) —primarily intended to procure an abundant catch—seem to offer a quite satisfactory explanation for the fact that a divinity called the 'Fisher,' or rather the '*hērōs eponymos*' of a guild of priestly fishermen, should have been considered later on chiefly as a prophet and revealer, as the inventor of music, rhythm[1] and poetry, and finally as the composer of all the hymnic and even cosmologic songs that were produced in course of time by the later members of this ancient brotherhood of fish-conjurers.

If, further, we find even the invention of the Greek alphabet attributed to our mythic 'Fisher,'[2] we shall conclude simply that the fisher-priests of the Pre-hellenic sanctuaries on the coast of Asia Minor played an important part in the still exceedingly obscure history of the transmission of the Semitic—so-called Phœnician—letter-writing from its unknown Oriental cradle to the Hellenic world.

[1] Orpheus is believed to have built the first hexameter. On Ṣidon as inventor of hymnody cp. p. 23.

[2] Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.* iv. 318, 15.

Such a theory would at any rate be in perfect harmony with an interesting inscription of Sanherib's[1] containing the name of a divinity whose ideogram reads 'Ḫa-ni,' *i.e.*, 'Fish of exuberance' or Ḫa-zal, *i.e.* 'Fish-eater' (p. 39 n. 2 above), as the god of the *dup-šaru* or 'tablet-writers.' It is also easy to imagine how the elements of the cuneiform characters, the well-known dove-tailed wedges, should have been compared by the fanciful Oriental mind to the main outline of a fish, especially as a good analogy for such an association of ideas is offered by the fish-alphabet of certain Merovingian liturgical manuscripts, the writers of which seem to have tried to compose a writing of a more distinctively hieratic style by forming the single characters out of an ever recurring fish-pattern, perhaps under the double influence of early Christian fish-symbolism and of Gnostic speculations on the mystic dignity of the letters of the alphabet. Such a comparison between the lines and columns of cuneiform inscriptions and a number of fish going in different directions would lead in a very natural way to a symbolic identification of reading and fishing—analogous to the mystic connexion between water and wisdom in Babylonian folklore—and thus explain the rather strange *rôle* of the Fisher-god as patron of the Babylonian scribes.

However hypothetic such a theory must necessarily remain until it can be confirmed by a cuneiform statement, it is obvious in any case that the above-quoted passage on Ḫani-Ḫazal as the god of the '*dupšaru*' offers a most valuable confirmation of the authenticity of the Greek account of the Ōannēs- or Iannēs-myth, as it is found in the extant fragments of Berossos's *Babyloniaka*.[2] This Neobabylonian Bēl-priest relates, that

[1] Ed. Meissner-Rost, p. 96, l. 19. [2] Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 23.

in the first year after the creation of the world a 'rational being' emerged from the Persian Gulf and landed on the shore of Babylonia. It had the body of a fish; under its fish-head, however, there was a human face and under its fish-tail a pair of human legs. Images of this being, says Berossos,—and certainly with respect to the above-mentioned monuments (p. 31) —are still extant. This being, called Ōannēs,[1] passed the day among men *without partaking of any food*, and taught them the art of writing as well as all sciences and crafts, the building of cities,[2] the surveying of land, the observation of the stars, and finally the sowing and harvesting of all kinds of grain and plants. Every evening it returned to the sea—thereby betraying its solar character to the trained eye of the modern mythologist. To make the resemblance with the

[1] There are at least three variants of Greek transcriptions for the Babylonian name Ḫani (pronounced Ghani), namely Ōēn, Ōannēs and Iannēs (cp. p. 41 n. 2 above). The reader who is accustomed to the Jewish-Alexandrinian transcriptions of Semitic names will certainly expect a form Annēs (ΑΝΝΗΣ, where ח is omitted as *e.g.* in ΑΝΑΝΙΑΣ, etc.) or perhaps Ghannēs (ΧΑΝΝΗΣ as *e.g.* ΧΑΜ for חם) instead of the strange Ōannēs; yet the substitution of an initial *o* for the Babylonian guttural can be parallelled from a Greek inscription of Syria (Waddington, *Inscr. grèques et romaines de la Syrie*, no. 2472 'ΟΑΕΔΟΣ' where O evidently stands for ע) and is explained by the graphic reason that the Greek *ŏ-mikron* takes the place of the Semitic *ghayin* in the alphabetical series, and that both sounds are represented in writing by a simple circular figure. As Assyrian writing does not distinguish between the different gutturals, Berossos was free to begin 'Ḫani' with an Aramaic ע instead of a ה (cp. p. 64 n. 1 below), if he had any reason for doing so. The Greek value *o* for this sign then offered him a transition to the *ōmega* of *ōon*, 'egg,' thus suggesting a popular Greek etymology for the name of the god, who had been born from an egg (Helladios, *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* 535a, 34, Bekker). The foreshortened form Ōēn, occurring in this connection, is due to the fancy of Berossos for a mystic play on the arithmetic value of the single letters in proper names, which the present writer has analysed in the *Orient. Litt. Zeit.* xii. 289-292 (Ω=24, H=7, N=13, [=44]). The form Iannēs is possible because of the want of any distinction in the Assyrian syllabary between the Semitic sounds represented by the Hebrew letters א, ה, ו, ח, ע and י (*Iōta*). To take the initial '*I*' as a rendering of Ēa (Bab. pronunciation Īa), so as to make Īa-Ghani, has been suggested by Lenormant; yet the hypothesis seems unsafe, as such a combination is not met with in cuneiform texts.

[2] The reader will remember the myth of the Theban city-wall built by the lyre-playing of Amphion, a local double of Orpheus.

Lycian 'Fisher' Orpheus complete, Berossos even attributes the authorship of certain then extant literary works to his Ōannēs. Another remarkable analogy to Orpheus, the inventor of agriculture (p. 4 n. 3 above), is Ōannēs as the sower and reaper—a feature of the Berossian myth, which is confirmed by a cuneiform list of divine names,[1] where the god Ḫani is coupled with the corn-giving goddess Nisaba. This side of Ḫani's activity is probably to be explained by the fact that the Babylonians adored their most frequently mentioned writer-god Nebo, who is probably identical with Ḫani,[2] also as the giver of abundance in the granaries, and as the divinity who waters the fields by means of subterranean springs. As to the Berossian Ōannēs teaching astrology, we can hardly avoid comparing him with Orpheus as author of certain pseudepigraphic treatises on star-lore.

There is no doubt that this Neobabylonian Ōannēs story represents the most explicit extant version of the myth describing the Fish or Fishergod as lord and teacher of all wisdom. Yet traces of the same combination of ideas are not only found in the Greek, but also in other branches of Aryan tradition.

Thus, for example, in Irish mythic lore a prominent place is occupied by '*Eo Feasa*,' the 'Salmon of Wisdom,' the eater of which[3] becomes the wisest seer of

[1] III. Rawl. 69, 39_c.

[2] Cp. p. 3 n. 2 above. Prof. Morris Jastrow refers me also to Zimmern, *Šurpu*, ii. 175. The reader will remember that the Egyptian counterpart of Nebo, Hermes Theut, was revered as Lord of 'Ḥet Abṭit,' the 'House of the Net' (p. 21 n. 3 above), and acts as fisher in the Osiris mysteries (Cumont, *Les relig. orient.*, p. 278_{71}). The Greek Hermes is equally represented as fisher on black figured vase-paintings (Lenormant-Witte, *Elite mon. ceramogr.* iii. pl. xiv., cp. p. 45_6). For a dedication of fishing implements to Hermes s. *Anthol. Palat.*, vi. 5, 23.

[3] With this cp. the reading 'Ḫa-zal,' in Greek 'Ichthyophagos' or 'Fish-eater,' for the ideogram of the omniscient god. On the ancient British cult of the divine salmon-fisher cp. p. 23 n. 5 above.

the world. "Unless they had eaten the salmon of wisdom, they could not do it justice" is still used by the Irish peasant as a proverbial saying, in order to characterise a very difficult task. In the Boyish Exploits of Finn MacCumhail, Finn goes to his namesake, Finn-eges, to learn poetry of him. Finn-eges had passed seven years by the river Boyne watching the salmon of Llin-Feic. Finally Finn takes service with him and the salmon is caught. But Finn had been warned not to eat of it. This injunction he breaks inadvertently, and thereby becoming possessed of all knowledge he is hailed as the successor of Finn.[1] Another tradition mentions a mystic fountain, Connla's Well, surmounted by nine magnificent hazel-trees with red nuts full of wisdom; when they fall into the water, they are eaten by salmon. This is the reason why the salmon are covered with red spots and are so marvellously wise.[2] According to another Irish local saga, the Salmon of Llyn Llyw is the first created being of the whole world[3] —a legend which shows clearly the mythic and cosmic character of the famous 'Salmon of Wisdom,' and bears a close resemblance to the Babylonian tradition, that the shark-gods Laḫmu and Laḫamu (p. 38 n. 2 above) were the first divinities that originated from the primeval depth of the Abyss (Creation Myth, tab. i., l. 10).

Even closer parallels to the Babylonian and Orphic ideas about the literary activity and the wisdom of the Fishgod than the Irish tales of Eo Feasa can be found in certain Indian texts that have been recently col-

[1] Cp. Kuno Meyer, *Revue Celtique*, v. 197 f.; 201. Joyce, *Old Celtic Romances*, p. 414 f., n. 25. Nutt, *Folk-Lore Record*, iv. John Rhys, 'Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom,' *Hibb. Lect.*, 1886, p. 553; William A. Nitze, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. America*, xxiv. 3, p. 367.

[2] O'Curry, *Lectures on the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, ii. 143.

[3] Rhys, *l.c.*, p. 555.

lected in a most valuable essay by Prof. R. Pischel (*Sitz. Ber. d. Berliner Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1905, i. 506 ff.). We find, on the one hand in the *Agnipurāṇa* (2_3 ff.), that the Divine Fish, who saved Manu and the seven Ṛishis from the deluge, completed his benefits by revealing to these few surviving representatives of mankind the purifying and redeeming *Matsyapurāṇa* or 'Fish-legend.' In the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, 8_{24}, it is Viṣhṇu himself who *reveals in the shape of a fish an esoteric doctrine concerning his own divinity and who brings back from the depth of the waters the Vedas*, the source of all wisdom, which had been stolen by a hostile demon. The following ceremony, described in the *Varāhapurāṇa*, 39_{34} ff., refers to this myth. On the 12th day of the first month of the Indian year, four golden vessels full of water, with wreaths on them, representing the four oceans of the world, are placed before the image of Viṣhṇu; in the middle of these four vessels they place a bowl of gold, silver, copper or wood, also full of water, and put in it the god (Viṣhṇu) in the shape of a golden fish. Then the god is addressed with the words: "*As thou, O God, in the shape of a fish hast saved the Vedas* out of the underworld, thus save me too, O Keshava!" Then the golden fish is given to him who undertakes the vow of the '*Matsyadvādashivrata.*'

Finally an excellent analogy to the Greek '*Orphic*' hymns addressing the different gods of the Orphic pantheon is offered by the celebrated prayer to the Ādityas in the *Ṛigveda*, viii. 67, the authorship of which is attributed by the Aṇukramanī either to 'Matsya Sāmmada,'[1] or to '*many fishes, that had been*

[1] *Matsya* means 'Fish.' According to the *Sarvāṇukramanī* (Macdonell, p. 141), it is the name of the son of Sāmmada '*mahāminā*,' the

caught in a net.'[1] That human beings are meant by the 'fishes' in this tradition, will appear from the *Shatapaṭhabrāhmaṇa*, 13, 4, 3, 12, the *Āshvalāyana Shrautasūtra*, 10, 7, 8=*Sāṅkhāyana Shrautasūtra*, 16, 2, 22 ff., and the respective commentaries. They state, that on the 8th day of the horse-sacrifice, the king represents Matsya Sāmmada, and his subjects the denizens of the water. The latter, *fishes and fishermen*,[2] sit before the Hotar and Adhvaryu, while the Hotar reads an instructive passage from the Vedas, which is adapted to the understanding of the 'fishermen'—a scene that will beyond doubt remind the reader of the well-known figure of Jesus preaching to the Galilean fishermen.

The present writer does not intend to enter here at greater length into the arid controversy whether the similarity of the above-quoted Greek, Irish and Indian traditions to their Babylonian parallel is to be explained, according to the so-called 'Panbabylonistic' dogma, on the hypothesis of a great prehistoric migration of Babylonian mythic motives to the East as well as to the West, or whether we should adhere to the principle of the anthropological school, that certain common predispositions of the human mind will produce *independently* the same primitive conceptions in different historical surroundings. It will be enough simply to remind the reader by the way of certain coincidences in minor details—such as *e.g.*, the agri-

'king of the great fishes.' Sāyaṇa does not call Sammada 'king of the great fishes,' but only 'great fish.' According to the *Sushruta*, p. 198_{16} (Edition of Calcutta, 1873), *mahāminā* is a certain kind of sea-fish, as the name shows, a *large* kind of fish.

[1] As to the net cp. p. 24 above on the fish-yarn fastening the heavenly fish, and p. 74 below on the Babylonian priests of Sin wrapped in fish-nets.

[2] '*Matsyahanas*'; '*punjisthāh*'; '*matsyavidaḥ*.'

cultural functions of Orpheus as well as of Ōannēs (p. 4 n. 3; p. 45 above), which are best understood on the basis of certain Semitic homonymies,[1] and especially of the intimate connection existing between the fish and the fox symbol both in Babylonian uranography and in the Thracian Bassareus- and Orpheus-cult, in order to prepare him for a just appreciation of the fact, that a migration of the main features of the Ḫani-Ōannnēs myth from Babylon—or wherever else the original seat of this divinity may be located—to Greece can be strictly proved from the Greek and Latin names of a peculiar kind of Mediterranean perch. The species in question is mentioned by Ovid (*Hal.* 108) under the name of '*channe*,' which corresponds to a Greek form χάννη. To-day it is called '*cano*,' χάννο (*ghanno*) in vulgar Greek, and '*serran*' at Marseilles.[2] In a list of marketable fish appended to a fifteenth century manuscript in the Venetian dialect containing the '*statuto*' of the fishermen's guild of Zara[3] (Dalmatia) it appears as '*serran o scrivan*,' the Latin scientific name being '*serranus scriba*'='*writing* sawfish,'[4] in German '*Buchstabenfisch*.' This latter name is explained by Brehm as referring to certain black spots that are said to resemble written characters. It is, of course, quite improbable that the mere existence of any black dots or spots—probably no kind of fish is entirely devoid of such—should have given rise to such a strange name. On the contrary, it would

[1] Cp. below, in the chapter on the 'Origins of the Eucharist,' the series of Phœnician coins decorated with the fish and the ear of corn, and also on the gods Dagon and Sidon as fish and corn gods, on the fish and corn gods of Niniveh, on Adapa, the baker and fisher of Eridu, on Beth-LḪM as 'House of Bread' and 'House of the Shark,' etc.

[2] Cp. Georg Schmidt, *Philol.* Suppl., xi. 294 f.

[3] The edition of the *Forma matricule marinariorum et piscatorum Iadre*, by Gelcich (*Biblioteca storica della Dalmazia*, lib. ii.), does not contain this list, which is written on a loose leaf and was copied by the present writer for the Austrian Historical Institute in the autumn of 1905.

[4] Cp. p. 35 n. 4; p. 36 n. 4 on the sacred fish with the '*cutting tail*.'

be indeed a marvellous coincidence if the '*channe*'—which is said by Ovid to conceive of itself, just as the sacred '*galeoi*' (p. 38 above) are said to conceive and to procreate in an irregular way, namely through the mouth—and the χάνο of the Modern Greeks were not identical with the Babylonian '*hieros ichthys*' Ḫanī—*ē* and *ī* being interchangeable in Babylonian as well as in Hellenistic pronunciation—and that the Latin, Italian and German names of the '*writer*' or '*letter-fish*' should not refer to the above-analysed character of the fishgod as the patron of the tablet-writers and as the inventor of the alphabet.

Nobody now doubts that the art of letter-writing was taken over by the Greeks as well as by the Indians[1] from a common Semitic source. It cannot, therefore, be considered as a too bold assumption that together with the Semitic characters the old Semitic myth of the fish-shaped and fish-eating writer-god migrated on the one hand to the fish-revering[2] Indian Viṣhṇu-worshippers, and on the other to the Greek priests and adorers of the Lycian fishergod Orpheus, and even —through the old Phœnician colonies on the British coasts — to the Gaelic salmon-fishers of Erin who invoked the old Celtic fishergod Nodon.

[1] Cp. Halévy, *Journ. Asiatique*, ii. (1885); M. Cust, *Journ. Asiat. Soc.*, xvi. (1884), p. 325.

[2] For the Indian taboo against fish-eating cp. the *Mahābhārata*, xii. 265, 9, xii. 36, 22, and the legal texts collected by Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, etc., Strassburg, 1896, § 59, p. 157. On the cult of tame fishes by the Brāhmans see Dubois, *Mœurs, Institutions et Cérémonies de l'Inde*, Paris, 1825, ii. 437, or Crooke, *Introd. to the Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, Allahabad, 1894, p. 344 f.

VIII.

THE ORPHEUS AND GOOD SHEPHERD PICTURES IN EARLY CHRISTAIN ART.

FOR if men were not fishes, the Apostles could never have been made fishers of men. Such fish indeed are worthy of the Lord's supper, such fish can swim about in the stream of baptism, such fish are caught with the hook of faith and in the nets of holy preaching.—ST. BRUNO SIGNIENSIS, *in Matth.* iv., p. 18.

ONE of the most puzzling problems in the whole religious history of the ancient world is the presence of unmistakably Orphic symbols in the sacred art of early Christendom. Every student of Christian archæology is acquainted with a comparatively large number of catacomb-paintings, sculptured sarcophagi, gems and ivories,[1] exhibiting the familiar Pagan type of Orpheus, with his Phrygian (or rather Persian) head-dress and the lyre, seated either among a group of the very different kinds of wild and tame animals, or in the middle of the more typically Christian flock of sheep, which elsewhere accompany the 'Good Shepherd' — a mystic figure, common to Pythagoræan and Orphic,[2] to Hermetic[3] and to early Christian symbol-

[1] The best *catalogue raisonné* of these monuments will be found in the appendix to Gruppe's 'Orpheus' article in Roscher's *Lexicon*, c. 1202 ff.

[2] Pythagoras is said to have been 'Eu-phorbos' (= the 'Good Shepherd') in a former life. Cp. the mythical 'herdsman' Phorbas in Thessalian and Bœōtian legends, or still better the mythical singer 'Eu-nomos' (= 'Good Herder') whose statue, with the prophetic cicada perched on the strings of his lyre, was seen by Pausanias at Delphi. See also p. 20 n. 1 above.

[3] Cp. G. R. S. Mead, *Thrice-greatest Hermes*, i. 373 ff., etc., on the figure of the Hermetic Poimandres or Shepherd of men.

ism, and acceptable even to the most rigid of the Judæo-Christian party on account of the beautiful Old Testament comparison of Jahvè with a shepherd.

There is no reason to doubt that at least the latter transition-type, ranging half-way between the ordinary Orpheus and the well-known 'Bonus Pastor' glyph, symbolises the Christ as that gentle herdsman, who "guides his flock, rarely by the staff, *mostly with the sweet sound of the syrinx*,"[1] and who could just as well be understood to play the lyre of his ancestor, the royal shepherd David, as the pastoral reed of Pan or of the shepherd-god Attis 'Syriktēs,' or the Phrygian flute of the unique piping Orpheus on one *relievo* of the Knole collection.[2] And if this is really the case, it is not improbable that the various beasts of the original Orpheus-type were meant by the Christian artists to illustrate the righteousness and peace, which are to reign even in the animal kingdom under the sway of the Messianic king, under David's offspring, under the rod out of the stem of Jesse. "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together" (*Is.* xi. 1 and 6). Small wonder that the Orpheus-pictures could so well correspond with the prophet's idea of a golden age to come; for there is indeed a close Orphic parallel to the above-mentioned text, in Empedokles' beautiful description of the blessed time when long ago the mythic Orpheus-Pythagoras lived, who had abolished the "crime of devouring," killing and sacrificing living beings. "At

[1] Gregor. Nazianz. *Orat.* II. al. I. n.9.; Basil. Seleuc. *Hom.* 26.

[2] No. 16; s. Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 422, and *The Quest*, i. 138; cp. the piping Christ in the *Acts of John*, ch. 95. On Attis Syriktēs cp. the so-called Naassene mystery sermon in Hippolytos, transl. in Mead's *Thrice-greatest Hermes*, i. 183, 186.

that time all were tame and friends of man—wild animals and birds as well—for love had bound their souls" (Fr. 130, Diels).

Nevertheless it remains a strange fact, that the artists employed by the early Christian communities should have been allowed to use the characteristic features of a Pagan divinity even in such details—*e.g.* in the head-dress—as could not have had the slightest significance in a system of Christian religious pictography, although, in spite of the strong dependence of the comparatively poor and unoriginal early Christian art from Pagan models, nothing could have been easier than to Christianise the type by suppressing such accidental features; just as—to take the nearest parallel—the 'Good Shepherd' type itself, which is obviously derived from the Pagan Hermes Kriophoros, shows in no case such attributes as, for example, the winged cap, the winged sandals, the caduceus, or even the writing-pen of the 'Logios.'

Accordingly, the only possible explanation for these entirely undisguised Orpheus-images must be found in the supposition, that their Christian owners and inspirers connected the Saviour, in some quite essential respect, with this one Pagan prophet. It is true that such a view certainly goes far beyond the intention of the only two Patristic passages which have hitherto been adduced as a justification for these enigmatical monuments; for at least the older of the two texts[1] is

[1] Clement of Alexandria, in his *Sermon to the Gentiles*, pp. 2 ff., Potter, written some fifty years after the completion of the Orpheus-pictures in the Roman catacombs, exhorts the Greeks to leave their Pagan poets on antiquated Helikon and congregate on the Mountain of Zion, where they will find dwelling the divine Logos. This real 'Eu-nomos,' says the Church-Father, alluding at once to the mythic singer mentioned above (p. 53 n. 2) and to the Christianised Hermetic figure of the Logos as the 'Shepherd of men,' does not sing in the metre of Terpander, but in the eternal rhythm of the 'New Song' (*Ps.* clvi.). "But the Thracian as well as the Theban and

practically a polemic against the hero, in whose worship, according to the testimony of our archæological evidence, some Christian communities seem to have indulged. Of course it is very surprising that an identification, or syncretistic confusion of Christ and Orpheus—of the same rather naïve character as the blending achieved by Hellenising Hebrews between the Thracian beer-Dionysos Sabazios (cp. Illyr. *sabaium*, Ital. *zabbajone*[1]) and the Jewish Sabaoth or 'Lord of Hosts'—should have been admitted in any Christian, were it even in somewhat Gnosticising, circles.[2] What can be proved from literary evidence is really nothing more than that some apologetic writers (interpreting the principle that God had not left Himself without witness in the Pagan world, according to the Stoic ideas of an all-pervading divine Logos) had claimed, among other authorities such as the Sibyl and Thrice-greatest Hermes, the mythic singer Orpheus also as a champion of a secret and esoteric monotheism, which they had discovered chiefly, although not exclusively, in such verses as Jewish or Christian interpolators had inserted into the Orphic scriptures; and that other early theologians refused to accept these suspect authorities on the very good ground that, by exaggerating the doctrine of Logos-inspiration to such

Methymnæan Orpheuses, call them men or more than men, are swindlers, befouling life under pretext of their musical achievements, bewitching people by some kind of sorcery, and leading them astray, to their own hurt, from their former celestial freedom to the lowest slavery of idol-worship." Not so the singer, whose song the writer praises and who indeed tames the wicked, the wildest of wild animals, be they birds (that is light-minded), or creeping beasts (that is treacherous), or lions (that is violent), or pigs (which means voluptuous), etc. Eusebius, the friend of Constantine, in the fourteenth chapter of his panegyric on that emperor, simply compares the Logos, taming and redeeming mankind as if playing on an instrument, with Orpheus displaying his magical skill on the mystic lyre.

[1] We owe this explanation of the name to Jane E. Harrison, Cambridge.

[2] Witness our reproduction of an image of Christ on the cross, with the inscription 'Orpheos Bakkikos.'

an extent, an uncontrollable amount of Pagan errors would be introduced into the revealed system of the Christian faith.

Are we, then, really to believe that nothing else but these learned theological quotations from 'Orpheus,' or these artificial comparisons between Orpheus and the Logos-Christ, late as they all are, can account for the inclusion of this singular essentially Pagan type—for the once occurring Erōs and Psychē group (Garucci, tav. 20) is simply Greek imagery for divine Love and the Soul—into the very limited *repertoire* of Christian *popular* symbolism? Is not the 'Shepherd of Hermas' book a proof, that at least the Christian community in Rome was quite as well acquainted with Hermetic as they could ever have been with Orphic mystery-teaching? Why then is the Pagan Hermes Kriophoros, the Egyptian Theut or Logios, with his pen or his soul-awaking staff, never figured in the catacombs? Why is the Sibyl, the favourite of the old Christian oracle-mongers—the 'Sibyllistæ' of Celsus—and therefore of mediæval and later Christian art, never found there?

If all this is taken into due consideration, will it not appear a much sounder solution of the problem in question, to say that the same spirit of missionary diplomacy, which later on induced the Church to transform—in spite of the intransigent saying about the new wine in the old skins—*e.g.* the Birthday of the Pagan Sun-god into the modern Christmas Feast, the 'Rejoicing of the Great Mother' into our 'Annunciation of Mary,'—that same spirit of wise tolerance, which travestied so many local divinities of decaying Paganism into Christian saints, was already responsible for the voluntary and conscious blending of

the 'Orpheus' type with the 'Good Shepherd' glyph, as it is found in the Roman catacombs?

When Paul came to Athens he took advantage of an altar inscribed by some superstitious person to the still dreaded although long-forgotten 'unknown god' of the place, in order to persuade by a clever rhetorical stratagem the 'pious' Athenian people, that they were already worshippers of that unknowable and 'wholly hidden' god of the Jews, whose true worship had only not yet been revealed to them by any prophet.

May we not suppose quite as well, that Peter—or, if you prefer it, the unknown apostle who spread the first seeds of the new religion in Rome—found his easiest converts among the members of those secret societies which had successfully resisted all the persecutions of the Roman Senate during the Republic, and still continued in the days of Lactantius, as they had done in those of Euripides, "to celebrate, with Orpheus for their leader, the mysteries of Dionysos,"—among those initiates of Father Liber who are so often mentioned in inscriptions of the Imperial age, and whose doctrines we know from an exact counterpart to the Orphic funeral gold-labels from South Italian graves of the IVth century, B.C., which has been found near S. Paolo fuori, and belongs to the IIIrd century of our era?

If we remember that the principal doctrines of Orphism, as they were fixed already in the Pisistratian period, offer distinct analogies with later Christian beliefs—such as the pessimistic valuation of terrestrial life, the idea of original sin, the contempt of the body as a prison or grave of the soul, an eschatology with a paradise and a hell, with purgations and a final retribution or expiation of sins, a developed ritual in

which a leading part was reserved for the priests, a sacrament of the cup, a dogmatism with a certain henotheistic tinge, with a logos-doctrine and the belief in a suffering god, worshipped with theophagic communion-rites—this hypothesis will be found all the more plausible, because it explains at once, how Jewish and Christian interpolations found their way into Orphic writings, and how the picture of Orpheus, the former patron of the first converts, came to be included in Christian funeral symbolism.

Certainly, if such a theory is to hold good throughout, we must expect to find other striking points of contact to corroborate the conclusions which have first been drawn merely from those 'Orpheus' and still more from the significant 'Orpheus-Shepherd' pictures, as we might call them. Of such similarities we may mention at once, even before we presuppose anything from the results of our recent enquiries into the name and character of the Pagan Orpheus, the identity of the priestly title '*archiboukolos*' in extant Orphic inscriptions[1] with the name of '*archipoimēn*,' or 'chief-herdsman,' given to the Christ in *I. Peter*, v. 5, and of the Orphic '*boukoloi*' in general with the 'shepherds' of early Christian communities, mentioned in *Ephes.* iv. 11, *Acts*, xx. 28, and *I. Peter*, v. 2. If any reader objects, that Christ and Christian priests as *shep*herds cannot be compared with the Orphic *bou*kolos or *cattle*herd, we would simply remind him of certain early Christian inscriptions,[2] where the neophytes are not designated as the 'sheep' of the sacred flock, but as '*vituli lactentes*,' or 'suckling calves,' a mystic

[1] *Corp. Inscr. Lat.*, vi. 504, 510, 1675, etc.

[2] Quoted in De Waal's article '*Milch*' in F. X. Kraus' *Real Encyclopädie d. Christl. Altert.*, ii. 394.

figure of speech, to which corresponds the apparently rather disrespectful saying, "the oxen signify the apostles and prophets," in Cassiodorus's explanation of the various animals in the well-known Orpheus-pictures (Migne, ii. 352), the only justification of which can be found in the existence of a Pagan title the '*boes*,' or 'oxen,' for the initiates of a certain degree in the mysteries of Dionysos—two facts, which prove at least, that no great stress has ever been laid on the difference between the Pagan cattleherd and the Christian shepherd.

IX.

ORPHEUS AND THE FISHER OF MEN ON THE CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS FROM OSTIA. THE LAMB AND MILK-PAIL GLYPH IN THE ROMAN CATACOMB-PAINTINGS.

THE most remarkable coincidence of an Orphic mystery-doctrine with a Christian monument is certainly offered by the sarcophagus of one 'Firmus' found at Ostia, now in the Lateran Museum at Rome.[1] Its front shows Orpheus in his typical costume, sitting under an olive-tree, on which a bird is perched, at his feet a ram, behind him the head of a sheep; the right side is unfortunately wanting, but the left shows nothing else but the well-known symbol of the Fisher with his angling rod and the mystic fish at the end of the line; in his left hand is a vessel, wherein to keep his catch.[2] Can we avoid the conclusion, that the sculptor, or the inspirer, of this most important *relievo* was perfectly well acquainted with the main doctrine of Orphism, *sci.* with the old and genuine meaning of the name 'Orpheus' as equivalent with 'Fisher,' such as the present writer has endeavoured to explain it in a previous chapter of this book? And if indeed, on this sarcophagus, the 'Orpheus' and the 'Fisher' glyph represent the exoteric and the esoteric aspects of one and the same divinity, may we then not compare

[1] Visconti, '*Dichiaraz. d'un sarcoph. di Ostia*'; *Diss. d. Pontif. Acad. Rom. di Arch.*, xv. (1864), 161 ff. Our reproduction is taken from Garucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, v., pl. cccvii. 3.

[2] Cp. the "gathering of the good fish *into vessels*" in *Matth.* xiii. 49.

the 'Fishermen,' who play such an important part in the legendary history of the Dionysian cult—the Fishermen, who ferry the god over the Euripus to Eubœa, who find and save in their nets the wooden image of Dionysos Phalēn, or the son of Dionysos, the hero Thōas, or the head and the lyre of 'Orpheus,' those Fishermen, who in Haliæ, according to an old oracle, yearly bathe, or rather baptise, the image of Dionysos 'Halieus,' and above all the 'Tyrrhenian' Fisherman Akoitēs, who acts as a prophet and martyr of the Bakchos religion in the 'Pentheus' metamorphosis of Ovid, and probably also in the lost *Pentheus* tragedy of Lykophron[1]—with Peter, with the three other apostolic Fishermen of the Gospel, and with their successors, the Christian bishops, who wear as insignia of their dignity, both the crozier of the 'Shepherd' and the mystic ring of the 'Fisher,'[2] just as

[1] The evidence is quoted in detail on p. 730 f. of my *Weltenmantel* (see p. 6 n. 2 above).

[2] The 'fisher-ring' or '*annulus piscatorius*' of the Pope—engraved with a representation of the miraculous draught—cannot be traced further back than to a Letter of Clement IV. to his nephew Pietro Grossi, dating from the year 1265. But this means only, that the custom of sealing the so-called '*breves*' with this 'secret' (the formula runs '*sub annulo nostro secreto*') or 'mystery' ring (for the latter expression see the letter of Hincmar of Rheims, IXth cent. A.D., Migne *Patrol. Lat.*, cxxvi. 188, "the ring, the token of faith . . out of *the divine mysteries*") did not arise before the XIIIth cent. For even now there exist two bishops' rings which go back to the Merovingian age and must be called 'fisher-rings' on account of their engravings—the one, belonging to the diocese Maguelonne, the later Montpellier, showing a fish (Deloche, *Essai hist. et archéol. sur les Anneaux*, Paris, 1900, p. 289), the other, the celebrated ring of St. Arnulph, in the treasury of Metz, exhibiting a fish caught in a net, and two others swimming alongside (*o.c.* p. 86). The latter is said by Paulus Diaconus to have been thrown into the Mosel by its owner, in order to obtain a proof of the divine grace, and to have been indeed miraculously recovered in the belly of a fish, which fishermen presented to the bishop's kitchen (cp. also the ring of St. Avit, with its two dolphins, *o.c.* p. 311). Modern bishop's rings are plain, without engraving. As it is impossible that the papal fisher-ring could have been taken over by the Popes from the Gallican bishops, we must suppose, on the contrary, that simple bishops were no longer allowed to wear the old engraving on their rings when once the Popes began to use this formerly common ensign of episcopal dignity as a special secret seal. That ring and staff are the essential symbols of episcopal power, is well known to everyone who has but the slightest knowledge of the mediæval controversies between the empire and the papacy concerning the investiture of the bishops.

we had to compare the 'Shepherds' and the 'Archipoimēn' of early Christianity with the 'Archiboukolos' and the 'Boukoloi' of the Pagan Father Liber?

But let us be as cautious as possible and invite the sceptic, who feels not yet prepared to admit so much, to follow us into the so-called 'Gallery of the Flavians,' in the Domitilla-catacomb. He will find there—or with greater ease at home, on Plate vii. 1 of Monsignore Wilpert's monumental work on the Christian catacomb-paintings of Rome (Freiburg, 1903) —the oldest specimen (dating with all probability from the second half of the first century, A.D.) of the very same Christian fisher-glyph which we have met on the sarcophagus of Firmus. Besides this significant symbol the room contains only pictures of the same tree (with birds) under which the lyre-playing Orpheus of the Ostia *relievo* is seated, and which is so often connected also with the images of the 'Fish' and the 'Good Shepherd' on other monuments,[1] secondly a representation of the usual funeral meal, and thirdly the most remarkable symbolical group of a crozier, *a lamb and a full milk-pail* (Lat. *mulctra*).

That the crozier stands for the 'Good Shepherd' is proved by the parallels, where the 'Shepherd' carries the milk-pail, or is even represented as milking himself the mystic ewe. As to the rather odd symbolism of this latter animal, the reader should remember, that in *Ruth*, iv. 11, we find mentioned, as the two mothers or 'builders of the House of Israel,' Rachel, in Hebrew the 'Ewe,' and Leah, the 'Wild Cow.' Using the terms of modern comparative sociology we should say, that the two most primitive

[1] Cp. *e.g.* Pitra, *Spicil. Solesm.*, iii., pp. 576 f., nos. 80, 92, 93, 94, 97, 102, 106.

subdivisions of the Chosen People, the 'clan of the Ewe' and the 'tribe of the Wild Cow' (*b'neh Leah*), are both named after their respective totem-animals. The *massebah* on the 'sepulchre of the Ewe' (*Gen.* xxxv. 20) must have been the oldest sanctuary of the first totem, whose members were (according to a tempting suggestion of Steuernagel) called the Jṡ Ra'el, originally Jš Raḫel,[1] or 'men of the Ewe'—like Jš Gad, 'men of (the god) Gad,' in the Mesha-inscription, or, as in *Jeremiah*, xxxi. 15, and *Matth.*, ii. 18, where Rachel is said to weep for her children, *sci.* the Israelites, the '*beneh Raḫel*,' or 'children of the Ewe.' The rites of mystically reviving a sacrificed lamb by seething it in the milk of the ancestral 'Ewe,' prohibited in the 'Book of the Covenant,' and certainly also of partaking in common of the sacred animal's milk-boiled flesh, and of the vivifying milk-broth, are easily explained on the hypothesis of such a totem-cult in the old Ewe-clan of Israel or 'Jš Raḫel,' and nothing could be more interesting for the historian of ancient religion than to see how these primitive superstitions, repressed by strict Jahvism, yet perhaps never rooted out completely from the religious consciousness of the *am ha'arez*, were immediately revived after the breaking off from the Law in the earliest Christian Church.

The elaborate system of theological after-thoughts imagined to justify and spiritualise the crude magic of this milk-communion, may be reconstructed as follows:

[1] The softening of the guttural ḫ in ' in a word which contains an *r* or *l*, is quite common. As to the mispronouncing of *ṡ* for *š* by the Israelites, the Sibboleth-Ṡibboleth story in *Judges*, xii. 6, is the best witness. Cp. on the whole question *Enc. Bibl.* 4003, 4092, 4463. I need not draw the reader's attention to the fact, that the figure of Jahvè as the 'shepherd' and the Jš Raḫel as his 'flock' is best understood on the background of these totemistic ideas about the descent of the clan from the ancestral Ewe.

In *The Key* of Pseudo-Melito (iii. 302, Pitra), a late yet invaluable mine of Christian allegorism, Rachel is called "the Ewe of God, which is to conceive at the end of time." This means, that the new spiritual community, the Church as the "Israel of God" (*Gal.* vi. 16), has now replaced the old totemistic unit of the clan; she is the 'Ewe of God,' being one flesh with the Christ (*Eph.* v. 31 f.), and His mystic bride. Her 'conceiving' then refers certainly to the bringing forth of newborn lambs for the 'flock' (*I. Pet.* v. 2, 3) of God, *sci.* 'neophytes,' symbolised as lambs, such as may be seen, *e.g.* on a well-known sarcophagus of the IVth century (Garucci, ccciii. 2), holding in their mouths the heavenly crowns (*II. Tim.* iv. 8) of baptism.

Now it is an established fact, that these apparent metaphors of the 'lambs' and the mystic 'rebirth' were taken in a very literal sense. As the Lord had said (*Matth.* xviii. 3), "Except ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter the Kingdom of Heaven," so deceased Christians, even grown-up people, call themselves on their epitaphs 'infants.' For, according to Tertullian (*Ad Mart.* i.), they are 'children'—and even 'sucklings' (see above, p. 59)—of the '*Domina Mater Ecclesia*,' of the 'Lady' ('*Kyria*,' cp. *II. John* i.), the 'Mother' Church. That all this was not taken as simply figurative speech, becomes clear, if we note that the earliest ritual prescribes a drink of milk and honey for the newly baptised; for, according to a wide-spread ancient and modern custom, milk-and-honey is the first food given to newborn babes. The documentary evidence for this rite has been collected most completely by Usener (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1902), while in Wilpert's reproductions of the catacomb-paintings we actually find a woman

approaching the mystic milk-pail in a most reverent attitude, evidently to partake of the initiating drink of rebirth. The honey, used in this ceremony, is said in the Melitonian *Key* (iii. 40, Pitra) to represent "the sweetness of the divine Word" (cp. *Prov.* xvi. 24)—for what mystic reasons will be shown in our later quest about the origins of the Eucharist. And so also was the milk considered by the '*galaktophagoi*,' or 'milk-drinkers' (as Clement of Alexandria calls the Christians), according to the same writer, as embodying the 'Logos.' "As the child is vivified," says *The Epistle of Barnabas*, vi. 12, "by honey and milk, so is the faithful by the Word." From *I. Pet.* ii. 2, 3, and less explicitly also from *I. Cor.* iii. 2 and *Heb.* v. 12, it appears, that by the 'milk' some kind of preliminary revelation of the Logos is to be understood, corresponding to the simpler teaching which precedes the full initiation of the grown-up (*I. Cor.* 13_{11} cp. *Is.* 28_{9}), that is the cup of wine, the true blood of the Logos, which could be granted only to those who had already "tasted, how wholesome the Lord is." Accordingly three subsequent cups are prescribed for the newly-baptised in the *Didaskalia of the Apostles* (pp. 111 ff., Hauler). First, a cup of water, evidently symbolising the spring, flowing forth from the moving rock, which was the pre-existent Christ, and of which the Jews partook, after having been baptised unto Moses (*I. Cor.* x. 1-4); nstead of being circumcised, the neophytes had to drown their former selves (*Col.* ii. 12) in this water of life. The second is the milk-cup, symbolising, according to the canons of Hippolytus (xix., no. 15, p. 77), the mystic rebirth; if the milk is mixed with honey, we may remember, *Deut.* xxxii. 13, "the honey of the rocks" given by Jahvè to Israel in

the desert. The third cup only[1] is the mixture of wine and water, which was also used in the Eucharist (cp. *Cantic.* iv. 11, v. 1).

Accordingly the 'Good Shepherd' milking the Ewe must be understood as the Christ, or his human representatives, the 'shepherds,' who bring forth from the treasures of the 'Ewe' Rachel, the 'Mother' Church, the milk-drink of the first initiatory teaching. The lambs approaching the milk-pail placed on the altar —as we can see them in the 'Sepulchre of Lucina' (Wilpert, plate 183c)—or the lamb reposing beside the milk-pail and under the shadow of the crozier—as we found it in the 'Gallery of the Flavians,' and as it recurs four times in the catacomb 'Ad Duas Lauros' (*ibid.*, pl. 96)—cannot but represent the first or milk-communion of the *newly-baptised* 'children' of the mystic 'Mother,' into whose womb, the '*gremium Matris Ecclesiæ*,' they have entered,[2] to be 'reborn into eternity.'

This interpretation is in perfect harmony with the fact, that the mystic milk-drink is connected with the symbolic 'Fisher,' not only in the above-mentioned paintings of the Domitilla-catacomb, but also in the beautiful hymn appended to the *Protreptikos* of the

[1] There is a *versus paræmiacus*—"tritou kratēros egeusō" ("of the third cup hast thou tasted")—quoted by Apostolios (xvii. 28, t. ii., p. 692, *Paræm. Gott.*) as expressing the last and most beneficial stage of initiation "in the mysteries." Although no hint is given as to which particular mysteries are meant, the notice certainly refers to a *Pagan* cult, whose influence on the above-described Christian ritual may be safely assumed.

[2] Cp. the stubborn doubt of the 'uninitiated' Jew Nicodemus in *John*, iii. 4: "How can a man be born when he is old? can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be born?" To this question the adept of many an ancient mystery-cult (s. Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 163 ff.) could easily have given the necessary answer. For the reader who is not familiar with these ideas I will quote only a few lines from Coleman's *Hindu Myth.* (p. 151): "For the purpose of regeneration it is directed to make an image of . . . the female power of nature, in the shape either of a woman or of a cow. In this statue the person to be regenerated is enclosed and dragged through the usual channel."

Alexandrinian Clement,[1] where the Christ is invoked under many a mystic name, and among them also under the four figures which are of such essential importance for our present investigation: namely, the 'shepherd of the lambs,' the 'fisher of men' (*halieus meropōn*),[2] the 'source of mercy'[3]—of which they partake in the water-cup!—and the 'heavenly milk'—that is the Logos—"which flows from the sweet breasts (*apo glykerōn mastōn*) of the mystic bride,"[4] the Church. For it is quite obvious from all archæological as well as from literary evidence, that the 'Fisher' also alludes mystically to the baptismal ceremony. The whole collection of Roman catacomb-paintings contains only two other instances of this glyph beside the already-mentioned one in the 'Hypogæum Flavium,' both in the so-called 'Chapels of the Sacrament' in S. Callisto, and in both cases the meaning cannot be mistaken. On plate 27 of Father Wilpert's volume, the Fisher stands side by side with an image of Moses, smiting the rock and producing the spring of mercy, *sci.* filling the first or water cup for the neophytes. These two pictures are grouped with a third representing symbolically the Eucharistic meal, by the feeding of the seven disciples on the shore of Lake Tiberias, evidently alluding to the Eucharistic communion, which used to follow the baptism in the Early Church. Plate 27_3 again immediately encloses the Fisher in one and the same frame with the baptismal scene of a man pouring water

[1] Cp. vol. I., p. 291 of Staehlin's new edition.

[2] Jesus as 'fisher of men' will also be found in Gregory of Nazianzus (t. i., p. 646): "Jesus, who is called the fisherman, fishes himself with the drag . . .; He bears every hardship, in order to recover from the deep the fish, which is man." Both passages may be illustrated by an old Christian gold-glass in F. X. Kraus' *Gesch. d. Christl. Kunst.*, p. 96.

[3] Cp. Jahvè as the 'spring of living water' in *Jer.* ii. 13, xvii. 13.

[4] Cp. Ambros. *De Virginib.* i. c. vi. n. 31.

on the head of another figure, standing apparently in a stream of water—whether it be the baptism of Christ himself or not—and with the pictogram of the impotent man, who carries his bed after having been healed in the '*probatica piscina*' of *Bethṣaida*—as the best manuscripts of *John*, v. 2, have it. Evidently the inspirer of this symbolic combination of the three scenes understood the 'fishpool of the sheep,' called in Hebrew Bethṣaida or 'House of Fishing,'[1] as an allegory for the 'fishpool' of baptism — the 'piscina,' as the baptismal font is called by Optatus of Mileve[2]—wherein the 'lambs' are cleansed of all the infirmity and impotency of their previous sinful life.[3]

We are now sufficiently prepared to take up our original problem with increased confidence in the soundness of the hypothesis set forth at the beginning to account for the presence of the Orpheus-pictures in Christian funeral symbolism. For if we have found, on the one hand, the Fisher-glyph coupled with the image of the lyre-playing Orpheus and, on the other, the Fisher-symbol side by side with the pictogram of the lamb and the milk-pail, is it still too bold a step to take the latter group as a welcome cross-evidence for the

[1] It may be remembered, in passing, that the 'angel' who used to descend to stir up the water of the pool amidst the five porticos of this splendid health-resort and sanctuary (in the ancient world these two conceptions were always intimately connected) in 'Beth Ṣaida' was certainly none else than a transparent monotheistic disguise of the old Canaanite Lord of the 'Fishing House,' *viz.* of the 'Fisher'-god Ṣid, mentioned above, p. 22.

[2] Cp. the mediæval baptismal font of Ringstad in Denmark adorned with three fishes, forming a triangle, in Münter, *Antiqu. Abhandlungen*, plate 26. A similar yet older one is at Grotta Ferrata, near Rome, another in Rome in S. Croce di Gerusalemme.

[3] For baptism as a healing, s., *e.g.*, Faustus of Riez (Migne, *P. L.* xxx., 280 ff. § 3): "Ask yourself, who have already been regenerated in Christ, . . . if not . . . without any bodily perception . . . God healed in you what was wounded and removed what was diseased."

conclusions we had to draw from the former, and to compare the lamb approaching the mystic milk, the ritual significance of which has been analysed above, with the well-known Orphic formula of the South Italian gold-labels: "As a kid have I fallen into the milk" (above, p. 7 n. 2), or, still better, as Salomon Reinach translates: "*As a kid have I encountered* (cp. Lat. '*incidere in*,' French '*tomber sur*') *the milk*"? Is it possible any longer to overlook the close parallelism between that other intentionally ambiguous Orphic '*symbolon*,' "Beneath the bosom" or "Into the womb of the Lady, the Queen of the Underworld, have I sunk,"[1] and the 'regeneration' of the Christian 'neophyte,' or 'newly-conceived,' by entering into the '*gremium*' of the 'Mother' Church, whence he is 'reborn' as a 'suckling calf,'[2] nourished by the 'sweet milk from the breasts' of that mystic Bride, who is herself called, just as the Orphic Mother-goddess by her worshippers, the 'Lady' (*Domina*, *Kyria*; *cp.* p. 63 above) and even the 'Queen' (*Basilissa*), in the inscription of Abercius?

Usener has long ago propounded the theory, that the Christian rite of the honey-and-milk, water-and-

[1] The Orphic initiate considers himself a "son of Earth and of the starry Sky." Consequently when buried he re-enters the womb of his Mother. Where the uneven surface of the earth is compared with the breasts of the Earth-goddess, as for example in Hesiod's expression of the *Gaia eyrysternos*, "wide-breasted Earth," *kolpos* may be taken in the more literal sense, which allows a connection with the lactation-rite.

[2] Cp. p. 58 above, the '*boes*,' or 'oxen,' of the Dionysian mysteries. The 'Lady' into whose womb the Orphic initiate enters for rebirth, is a 'horned' goddess for the Orphic, and her son Dionysos is a 'horned child.' Accordingly, where the latter is a bull-god, as in the 'Axios Tauros' hymn, the 'Mother' is thought of as a cow; where he is a kid, she is a she-goat. The recently initiated milk-suckling worshippers are, accordingly, either 'calves' or 'kids.' The substitution of the Christian 'lamb' and the 'ewe' for the kid and the she-goat is explained above, pp. 61 ff. Further, already in the Jewish prescription for the Passah (*Exod.*, xii. 5), the 'lamb' may be taken "out from the sheep or from the goats," so that the '*agnus dei*' too might be understood indifferently as a lamb or as a kid.

wine communion at baptism cannot possibly have arisen from those two verses in *Canticles*, or from the Old Testament description of the Promised Land as a country "flowing with milk and honey"; that it cannot be derived from the religion of Jahvè, who loathes and execrates honey-offerings (*Lev.* ii. 11 f.), but must have been taken over from the cult of Dionysos, whose epiphany is regularly accompanied by the flowing-forth of honey-and-milk fountains, and by the same change of water into wine which the Lord is made to operate by the late mystic legend of the wedding in Cana. The same holds good of the symbolism connecting the lamb and the milk-pail. Although there are points of contact with old Semitic folklore just strong enough to account for the attraction which Orphism exercised upon the Hellenising Jews, it is impossible that the mystic rebirth and lactation-rites could have developed in a Jewish sect simply out of those scriptural texts which have been subsequently used to justify and to spiritualise them, if such ceremonies had not already been in existence in those Pagan cult-societies from which the whole outward organisation of the earliest Church and even the name '*ekklēsia*' is well known to have been borrowed.

May we not proceed now one step further, and acknowledge an immediate connection between the Dionysian or Orphic initiation-rites, with their main formulas, on the one hand, and the whole baptismal symbolism of the earliest Christian Church, on the other? And if this be admitted, may we not legitimately conclude that the Christian allegory of the mystic Fisher is also a survival of the Bacchic 'orgies' and equivalent to, or even identical with, the conception of 'Dionysos Halieus' or 'Orpheus,' the divine

'Fisher' of the Greek, or originally Prehellenic, mystery-cults, into whose enigmatical figure Hellenistic theology had resolved all the similar Oriental gods whose names have been enumerated in a previous chapter?

X.

THE FISH SYMBOLISM IN EARLY CHRISTIAN LITERATURE.

THE thesis of our last chapter will not be accepted, unless we can prove it to be in perfect harmony, not only with the already considered archæological evidence from which it has been derived, but also with the corresponding literary texts which we have still to analyse. Fortunately a survey of the latter is rendered very easy, thanks to the learned dissertation *De Pisce symbolico* (Paris, 1855) of that admirable Benedictine scholar Cardinal J. B. Pitra, whose work is by no means superseded, or even completed, and still less improved, by the shallow and incompetent, yet often-quoted dissertation of H. Achelis, *Das Symbol des Fisches und die Fischdenkmäler der römischen Katacomben* (Marburg, 1888). We owe to Pitra an abundant collection of Patristic passages concerning our subject, out of which only three typical ones need be reproduced here for the reader's information.

There is, first, the well-known saying of Clemens Alexandrinus (*Pædag.* iii. 11) that the fishermen, in performing their daily work, should always remember the apostles and the 'infants' drawn from the water. Secondly, the not less significant words in Tertullian (*De Bapt.* c. 1), where the Church Father compares a certain Pagan woman of doubtful character with a snake, and goes on to say: "But we—the Christians—are *little fishes* (*pisciculi*) after the type (*secundum*) of our

great ΙΧΘΥΣ (=Fish)[1] Jesus Christ, *born in the water*," etc. Thirdly, the most characteristic testimony of all, in a Letter (*Epist.* xx.) of Paulinus of Nola to Bishop Delphinus, by whom the writer of the missive himself had been baptised. "I shall always," says Paulinus, "remember that I have been made a [spiritual] son of the dolphin"—this alludes to the Bishop's name Delphinus, and of course also to that dolphin pierced by the trident, which is so often found in the catacombs, probably as a symbol for the passion of Christ on the cross—"so that I have become one of those *fishes which pass through the paths of the sea*" (a quotation from the Vulgate of *Ps.* viii. 9). "I shall remember you not only as my father, but also as my fisher.[2] For it is you who have let down the hook towards me, to draw me out of the deep and bitter flood of the world, so that I should be soon a prey of salvation; to die to Nature, for whom I had lived, and to live in God, for whom I had been dead. If, therefore, I am thy fish," etc.

These quotations agree in every respect with the above analysed pictograms in the catacombs; they supply, moreover, the authentic interpretation of the connection established between the fisher-symbol and the baptismal rite. The old self of the convert is believed to be drowned in baptism (*Coloss.* ii. 12); from the water he is 'reborn' by 'putting on the

[1] The initials of the words Iēsous Christos Theou 'Yios Sotēr—I. Chr. Son of God Saviour—give the word IChThYS, that is 'Fish.' But the akrostichon is certainly an afterthought, and cannot possibly be the ultimate root of the Christian fish-symbolism. It is enough to remember, as Salomon Reinach has first observed, that both orthodox Polish Jews and the Catholic Christians of the whole world eat fish only, or at least regularly, on Fridays, that is, on the day of the planet Venus, in order to perceive, as Reinach has already done, that both Jews and Christians are deeply influenced by the rites of the Syrian goddess Atargatis, who was identified with the Morning-star, and whose son is indeed Ichthys, the sacred Fish.

[2] This is an approximate translation of the word-play, "*non patrem solum, sed et Petrum.*"

Christ' (*Gal.* iii. 27), who is not conceived in this respect as the mystic Lamb, so that his worshippers, symbolically wrapped up in the God's theriomorphic dress, would become lambs too, but as the mystic Fish, the very figure of Christ which is so often mentioned in old Christian inscriptions, and which is generally —although beyond doubt wrongly—derived from a famous Sibylline acrostic. By 'putting on' their mystically fish-shaped divinity—just as certain Greek and Assyrian worshippers of the fish-god clothe themselves with fish-skins (above, p. 31), the Christian neophytes equally believe themselves to be symbolically transformed into 'fishes' by the baptismal immersion.[1] As 'reborn' fishes they are taken up from the water, as Paulinus says, and as we see in the catacomb-pictures, by the hook, or, as others say (cp. the motto above, p. 51), by a net. The 'hook' itself is frequently identified with the Christ, or the Logos, whom the neophytes swallow in the Eucharist, immediately after the immersion; and in like manner is the mystic 'net' taken as a figure of the Christ by S. Damasus (*Carm.* vi.), Ennodius (*Carm.* i. 9), and S. Orientius (Martène-Durand, *Thes. Anecd.* v. 40). The latter conception is only the more interesting, first because we possess, besides the evidences about the above-mentioned (p. 21 nn. 2, 3) Chaldæan and Orphic fetish-cult of the sacred 'net,' a precious specimen of Old-Babylonian logos-mysticism in a frequently recurring text,[2] where the powerful 'Word' (*Amātu*) of the Divinity is said to be "a snare prepared on the shore of the sea, *out of the meshes of which the fish cannot escape*, and *a net in which man is taken*"; and, secondly, because a late, yet not

[1] *L. c.* 1909, p. 153 f.

[2] Transl. by Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assyr.* ii. 49 f.; cp. i. 496 f., "Thy Word, the great net encircling heaven and earth."

incredible, Arabian tradition (Dimešqui, in Chwolson's *Ssabier*, ii. 397) informs us, that certain priests of the Babylonian moon-sanctuary in Harran, which continued to exist until the Mongolian invasion, *wrapped themselves*, when entering the temple on a certain day, *in fishing-nets*, evidently with a similar intention as the same, or a kindred, priesthood had when they used to put on fish-skins.

Those readers, finally, who in spite of all analogies still refuse to accept this explanation of the symbolic phrase 'to put on the Christ,' are invited to study our reproduction of an early Christian earthen lamp (taken from Garucci, *o.c.*, vol. vi. pl. 474, no. 6) which displays a female figure wrapped in the skin of a fish. This image, which used to be taken for a primitive representation of Jonah in the belly of the whale, is totally different from all other examples of this frequently recurring glyph; it has but recently been correctly interpreted by one of the most learned students of early Christian archæology, Dr. Franz Joseph Doelger of Würzburg University,[1] as symbolising the soul of a Christian neophyte, clothed in the immortalising baptismal garb of the great mystic Fish.

[1] *Röm. Quartalschrift*, p. 153 f.

XI.

THE ALLEGORY OF THE MAN-FISHING IN THE GOSPELS AND IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

ALL this is certainly good to know; yet we must not forget that the Patristic texts about the newly-baptised as the 'fishes,' and on the 'fishing of men' as operated through baptism, are, without exception, considerably later than the fisher-pictures of the Roman catacombs, so that they cannot tell us anything about the origin of the allegory, however elucidating they may be for its symbolic significance. Indeed all the scholars who have hitherto occupied themselves with the monuments and with the corresponding literary evidence, have tacitly or expressedly supposed that both are to be explained by the well-known inferences of the 'fishers' and the 'fishing of men' in the Gospels themselves, namely:

First, the '*calling*' of the four apostles recorded in *Mark*, i. 16 ff., and with quite unsubstantial alterations in *Matth.* iv. 18.

Secondly, the '*miraculous draught*' narrated in *Luke*, v. 1-11, and quite differently in the 'Petrine' appendix to *John* (xxi. 1-11).

Thirdly, the *parable of the fish-net*, in *Matt.* xiii. 47.

Lastly, as a supplementary passage, the story of *the penny in the fish's mouth*, in *Matt.* xvii. 27.

But even this is in some respects a rather naïve way of approaching so delicate a problem, considering: first, that the quoted gospel-texts do not allude anywhere *openly* to the baptismal rite, so that we cannot admit beforehand, and without a closer analysis, that their authors used the fishing-symbol in the same *sacramental* sense as the Christians who were buried in the Roman catacombs, and the later Church Fathers certainly did; and, second, the no less serious objection to the traditional attitude of Christian archæology towards these monuments, that the relative chronology of the different New Testament documents to a monument of such an early date as the fisher-image in the Domitilla-catacomb, which must have been executed some time during the last third of the first century, A.D.,[1] has not as yet been thoroughly investigated.

The difficulties which arise from this omission, are sufficiently illustrated if we remind the reader, that 'Mark,' the oldest of the so-called 'Synoptic' witnesses, is not anterior, according to some modern critics, to the year 70, A.D., and may even have been written one, two or more decades after that date; as, moreover, it is not impossible that this Gospel was really composed in Rome,[2] as so many scholars suppose, we are obviously

[1] The spacious and, therefore, expensive subterranean galleries in question were carried out in the first century of our era, and belonged to historic persons of the last third of this period, such as Flavia Domitilla, a niece of Vespasian and Acilius Glabrio. That the paintings in these catacombs cannot be later additions but, on the contrary, represent the original and contemporaneous decorative scheme, is unanimously inferred from their style, by the best expert in the stylistic development of ancient fresco-painting, Prof. Mau, and by Monsignore Joseph Wilpert, who devoted years and years of most patient and minute research to the remains of Christian funeral art (cp. the latter's above-quoted work, pp. 130 and 122). Of course such a criterion as the style of a painting allows of a certain margin, but an exaggerated scepticism in these very plain problems cannot be too carefully avoided.

[2] On Latin words, forms of expression, and Latin explanations of Greek phrases in *Mark*, see *Encycl. Bibl.* 1839 (middle). On the date of *Mark*, *ibid.* 1893.

at a loss to determine from any *external* dates, whether our literary or our monumental evidence represents the earliest tradition. This means, we cannot say beforehand whether the image of the mystic 'Fisher' in the 'Flavian' gallery is to be explained from *Mark*, i. 17 ff.; or, *vice versa*, the fisher-symbolism in *Mark*, and the Gospels depending on *Mark*, must be derived from the ritual use of the earliest Christian Church in Rome, where Orphic mystery-doctrines, such as the formula of the lamb and the milk-cup, certainly exercised a considerable influence upon the development of the baptismal sacrament.

Consequently there is beyond doubt no obstacle in the *external* chronology of our documents which could prevent us from assuming, that in Rome, or in other places where the same Pagan influence may be presupposed, the Bacchic priestly dignity of 'Fisher' (cp. above, p. 62) was taken over by the primitive Christian communities, with the same facility as the corresponding Dionysian cult-office of the 'Shepherd' or 'Arch-Shepherd,' and that the celebrated saying "Come ye after me and I will make you fishers of men," in *Mark*, 1. 17, is nothing else than the ætiological *a posteriori* explanation of a title, which corresponds to the Bacchic 'Halieis,' exactly as the Hermetic 'Poimandres,' or 'Shepherd of Men,' does to the Dionysian 'Boukolos,' or 'Cattle-herd.' The parables of the fish-net (in *Matt.* xiii. 47), of the statēr in the fish's mouth (*ibid.* xvii., 27), and the allegories of the miraculous draught (in *Luke*, v. and *John*, xxi.) could then be explained, with many modern critics,[1] as later derivations from the original metaphor in *Mark*, i. 17 and *Matt.* iv. 19. However a

[1] Cp., *e.g.*, *Encycl. Bibl.* 1788, on *Matth.* xiii. 47, xvii. 27; *ibid.*, 1883 § 142 and 4573 on *Luke*, vi. 11; 1786, on this passage and *John*, xxi. 1-11.

more elaborate and thorough-going analysis of characteristic *intrinsic* features in the alleged gospel-texts than that which has been hitherto devoted to this subject by the historians of Christian origins, will prove in a definite manner, that so radical a view can *not* be successfully defended after all.

The student who scans for the first time Monsignore Wilpert's collection of Christian paintings in the Roman catacombs, will certainly be perplexed to see that no representation of the apostolic *fishermen with their nets* (as described in *Mk.* $1_{16, 18}$ = *Matt.* $4_{18, 20, 21}$, *Lk.* $5_{2, 5, 6}$, and *Jn.* $21_{6, 8, 11}$; cp. *Ev. Pet.* 14_{60}), is to be found throughout the whole volume. On the contrary, all the three extant images of the mystic fisher, both the one in the 'Flavian' gallery, which must be about contemporary with the Synoptic authors, and the two in S. Callisto, which are posterior even to the fourth gospel (cp. above, pp. 66 f.), show him *angling*, according to the unique passage in *Matt.* 17_{27}, where Jesus says unto Peter: "Go thou to the sea and cast an hook[1] and take up the fish that first comes up." This is all the more astonishing, because the connection of the fisher-glyph with a eucharistic meal of *seven* disciples[2] in S. Callisto seems to presuppose vv. 2 and 12f. of *Jn.* 21, that is a pericopē, where the greatest emphasis is laid upon the unbreakable *net* of the Church (v. 11).

To assume that the angler-type of the Catacombs was fixed under the prevalent influence of the

[1] Even in this case it is not impossible that the Eastern Church once read a text with the words: "*bale amphiblēstron*" (cast a *net*) instead of "*bale ankistron*." See the comment in Ephraem, p. 161: "So when Simon . . . took his *net* and went to cast it into the sea," etc.

[2] We must not lay too much stress on this detail, for in other representations also of the eucharistic meal, which are characterised as illustrations of the pericopē or section on the feeding of the multitude, the partakers

legend about the '*statēr*' in the fish's mouth, which is mentioned also in the earliest funeral orations (*Const. Apost.* 5_7) would not be absolutely impossible. For, according to a characteristic detail in this parable, which will be pointed out below,[1] the 'penny'-story must have been composed some time during the reign of Domitian (81-96 A.D.), a date which could easily be brought into accord with that of the painting in the Domitilla catacomb (cp. above p. 61). Yet it is hardly credible that a passage which uses the symbolism of the fish and the fisher only occasionally and as an already fixed and well-known figure of esoteric speech,[1] should have so completely obliterated from the memory of the Christian artists the picturesque details of the much more important pericopē of the 'calling' in *Mk.* 1_{17} = *Matt.* 4_{18}, if this story had already been written down in its present form, when the iconographic type of the Christian fisher was first created. On the contrary, if we assume that the custom of decorating Christian graves with the image of the mystic fisher was adopted already in the period when the new community did not yet possess anything more than a tradition—whether oral or written is of slight importance—about the mere 'sayings' of Jesus, we can easily suppose that the angler-glyph of early Christian art is due to the influence of the same *prophetic passages in the Old Testament* which gave birth both to the allegories about the net-fishing in the four above-quoted texts and to the unique mention of the

are seven in number. S. Augustine (Migne P.L. 35_{1966}) explains the number seven on this occasion as a figure for the universal Church ("*nostra universitas*"), and this corresponds indeed to a very ancient oriental use of the number seven as an expression for a totality, which occurs in cuneiform inscriptions (cp. Hehn, *Siebenzahl u. Sabbat*, Leipzig, 1907, pp. 5ff.). Accordingly the 'seven' of these pictures and in *Jn.* 21 are nothing else than a variant of the more frequently occurring 'twelve' disciples.

[1] Cp. below, pp. 92ff.

mystic hook in *Matt.* 17_{27}—passages which have been unduly neglected until now both by the expositors of the Gospel and by the archæology of Christian origins, although they alone contain the characteristic metaphor of the angler and his fish-hook side by side with the parallel idea of the fisher's draw-net.

Three different prophecies are to be dealt with for our present purpose, since the later Jews, or perhaps the disciples and followers of Jesus exclusively, appear to have interpreted all three of them as describing a single important event of the Messianic age:

The first prophecy is *Amos* 4_2:

The Lord Jahvè has sworn by his holiness, that, lo, the days will come upon you, *when you will be taken away with hooks and your posterity with fish-hooks.*

The second, *Habakkuk* 1_{14}ff.:

. . . And thou wilt *make*[1] *men like the fishes of the sea.* . . . All of them he takes up with the hook, and catches them in his net, and gathers them in his drag [LXX. *sagēnē*, the same word as in *Matt.* 13_{47}!] . . . Therefore he sacrifices unto his net and burns incense unto his drag; because by it . . . his meal is plenteous, etc.

The third, a *later* but for our purposes most important *addition*[2] to the text *of Jeremiah* (16_{14-21}):

(14) Behold, the days come . . that it shall no more be said, Jahvè liveth, that brought up the children of Israel out of the

[1] I translate the verbs in the future as they stand in the Greek version.

[2] Up to v. 13, that is in the genuine text of J., the people of Israel is addressed directly ("I will cast you out of this land," etc.). It is, therefore, impossible to connect (with some critics) 13 and 16; 14f. is not copied from, but earlier than $23_{7f.}$ (cp. Nathanael Schmidt, *Enc. Bibl.* 2385); the psalm-like vv. 18ff. have no more connection with the original text of Jeremiah than the insertion 14-17; they may be the work of the same interpolator or of another scribe, who bethought himself of *Isaiah* 14_2. See below, p. 83; v. 21 is not a separate last gloss, but 18 must be read between 20 and 21, as it does not aim at Israel, but at the Gentiles, who shall be punished twice, first for their own idolatry, secondly for having brought their false gods into Jahvè's land. The whole of vv. 14-21 belongs probably to the Maccabæan period.

land of Egypt; (15) but Jahvè liveth that brought up the children of Israel from the land of the North, and from all the lands whither he had driven them: and *I will bring them again into their land, that I gave unto their fathers.*

(16) Behold, I will *send for many fishers* saith Jahvè, and *they shall fish them;* and after will I send for many hunters, and they shall hunt them from every mountain, and from every hill, and out of the holes of the rocks. (17) For mine eyes are upon all their ways: they are not hid from my face, neither is their iniquity[1] hid from mine eyes.

(19) Jahvè, my strength and my fortress and my relief in the days of afflictions, the Gentiles shall come unto thee from the ends of the earth, and shall say, Surely our fathers have inherited lies, vanity and things wherein there is no profit. (20) Shall a man make gods unto himself? for *they* are not gods.

(18) But first I will recompense their iniquity and their sin *double;* because they have defiled *my land* [too], they have filled mine inheritance with the carcases of their detestable and abominable things. (21) Therefore, behold, I will this once cause them to know, I will cause them to know mine hand and my might, and they shall know that my name is Jahvè.

Amos, the "shepherd of Tekoa," and Habakkuk both threaten their audience with an invasion of the terrible man-hunting enslavers from the north-land, the Assyrian and Chaldæan armies. The phrase of "making men (helpless) like the fishes of the sea" is clearly dependent on a typical metaphor of the deluge-stories (cp. above p. 37 n. 1). Just as the Assyrian kings themselves[2] compare an attack of their troops with an '*abubu*,' or storm-flood, sent by the thunder-god Adad, so the prophet foresees that the enemy will overpower Israel like a flood sent by the wrath of Jahvè, and that the helpless victims, the fish-brood swimming about,

[1] Originally "their dwelling," מעונם; עונם, "iniquity," is a significant scribe's correction (*tikkun sōferim*). Their voluntary "dwelling" abroad *is* "their iniquity" in the eyes of the corrector, whose 'improvement' of the text lay already before the Greek translators (cp. N. Schmidt, *l.c.*).

[2] See the texts in Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. und Assyr.*, i. 223.

will be caught with net, drag or hook and led into captivity.

If the passages are quoted in the abrupt and even mutilated form in which they stand above—and this is the very method of allegoric exegesis practised by Philo, by Rabbis and Church-fathers—a Messianic interpretation can be forced upon them with little difficulty. In *Habakkuk* 1_{15}, he that takes up men with the hook, the net and the drag, must have been understood no longer as the Chaldæan, or as Assur, as others have suggested, but as the Christ. He that sacrifices unto the net, in v. 16, is now no more the Babylonian worshipper of Bēl or Ištar in the form of the net-fetish,[1] but the believer who burns incense to his net as a figure or symbol of the Logos-Christ (cp. above p. 73); the "plenteous meat" and the "fat portion" must have been referred to the abundant feeding of the new believers with the eucharist, the celebration of which we have found reproduced side by side with the mystic angler in the painting of the Callistus-catacomb (cp. p. 66, and p. 78 above).

As to the Pseudo-Jeremian prophecy, it presupposes the widespread, and to a great extent voluntary,[2] dispersion of the Jewish nation in post-exilic times. The writer knows, and deplores, that many among the children of Israel, especially those who are lost in religious indifference, swear—as most modern Jews do—by the principle, *ubi bene ibi patria;* only by force could such exiles be "brought back into the land, that Jahvè gave unto their fathers." Accordingly this

[1] Cp. *e.g.* the Sumerian hymn, Rawl. iv. [2] 27, no. 4, transl. by Jastrow, *Rel. Bab. u. Ass.* i. 190, where Bēl is invoked as the "catching-net, which overpowers the country of the enemies"; an invocation of Ištar as the "net" will be found *ib.* i. 541.

[2] Cp. Herm. Guthe, in Cheyne's *Encycl. Bibl.* 1108, and S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra*, London, 1900.

Pseudo-Jeremiah, cherishing, as he does, ideals which would be called Zionistic in modern times, expects—not unlike the unknown author of *Isaiah* 14_2 — that "*the Gentiles shall take them*"—namely, the dispersed ones of Israel—"*and bring them to their place*"; he is only slightly less a zelot than the other interpolator who prophesies to the Gentiles that, in return for this good service in furtherance of the Messianic plans of Jahvè, they shall be made captives of those whose "catchers" they had been, "the servants and handmaids" of the restored Israel; for our fanatic awaits only a "double" punishment of the heathen and their subsequent conversion to Jahvè. In any case there is no doubt that he speaks of the Gentiles as the "fishers" and "hunters" sent by Jahvè against his sinful people in the same plain sense as Habakkuk and Amos, the models of his style, had done many a century before. The only difference is that the Pseudo-Jeremiah certainly aims from the first at the Messianic age, while Amos and Habakkuk describe political events of a near future; but all three use the phrase "man-fishing" simply as an image for a violent and cruel captivity inflicted on the 'Elect' by their Pagan enemies, though with divine permission and according to the salutary plans of Jahvè.

XII.

JESUS' SERMON TO THE GALILEAN FISHERMEN.

Now the *parable of the draw-net* in *Matt.* 13_{47} shows clearly how this last prophecy was understood in those later times, when the history of the whole civilised world had become dependent on the wise and steady policy of Rome. No one could then reasonably expect any longer that the "Gentiles" would be foolish enough to do anything towards bringing the "lost sheep of Israel" again into the blessed land, which they had left, on worldly grounds, for Alexandria or Antioch, for Rome or Athens; and yet, according to the prophets, a final "gathering of the Elect" (*Mk.* 13_{27} = *Matt.* 24_{31}), that is of the "chosen people," was to precede the longed-for coming of the heavenly kingdom.[1] What, then, could be more natural than to expect it by way of an immediate manifestation of Jahvè? Could not the Lord of Hosts easily dispose of the Pagan armies by sending forth legions of angels, if the Gentiles still further delayed the foretold "fishing" of the stubborn exiles? Thus Jesus, who was indeed "a master of scripture, instructed unto the kingdom of heaven" and "who brought forth like a householder out of his treasure new and old" prophetic sayings, which could be interpreted in a Messianic sense,

[1] Cp. *Zech.* $8_{7f.}$ and *e.g. Targ. Jonathan* to *Deut.* 30_4: "When your dispersion shall have reached the ends of the sky, the Memrā (Logos) of the Eternal shall gather you all together through Elias the great priest," etc.

describes, obviously in view of *Jeremiah* 16_{16}, the "gathering of the Elect" at the coming of the Messiah, in the following well-known words (*Matt.* 13_{47}):

> The kingdom of heaven is like unto a net, that was cast into the sea, and gathered of every kind: which, when it was full, they drew to shore, . . . and gathered the good into vessels, and cast the bad away. So shall it be at the end of the world: the angels shall come forth—[fishing righteous and wicked with the great drag, as we must supply from the first part of the parallelism] —and sever the wicked from among the just.

Nothing could be a more typically Rabbinic interpretation of the alleged prophecy—which was certainly read or quoted as '*anagnōsis*' before the audience precisely as *e.g.* the Bible-text in *Lk.* $4_{17f.}$ — and there is not the slightest reason to doubt that it is an *absolutely authentic* saying of the Lord.

Now according to *Matt.* 13_{2}, Jesus sat in a boat, by the lake-side, when he delivered this sermon; and indeed it is easy to see how well adapted the parable of the draw-net was to the understanding of the fishing-population inhabiting the Galilean coast. Therefore the present writer considers it a very plausible hypothesis that the "calling" *of the fishermen*, in *Mk.* $1_{17ff.}$ = *Matt.* $4_{18f.}$, was originally connected in the closest way with Jesus' interpretation of *Jeremiah* 16_{16}, as it is related in *Matt.* $13_{47f.}$ Most modern critics are well aware that the abrupt account in *Mk.* $1_{17ff.}$ cannot contain the full truth; indeed the evangelist evidently exaggerates the power of the divine call by foreshortening the sermon into one single sentence, to such a degree that we feel ourselves transported far away from the historic reality into the borderland of the miraculous. But even if we are ready to believe that these fishermen left all to follow an entirely unknown man on the in-

ducement of one single phrase, we must not forget that the short saying itself was not only unintelligible, but also decidedly misleading for the hearers, if they had not been previously made acquainted with the Messianic interpretation of this Pseudo-Jeremian prophecy. For not only throughout the whole of the rest of the Old Testament, but also in all the parallels which may be collected from other literatures of a most diverse nature,[1] the phrase of the "fishing of men" has the *bad sense* of ensnaring people by cruel violence or by sly deceit; so that a man invited without further preliminaries to "become a fisher of men" would much more readily think that he was expected to enroll in a gang of robbers, man-hunters or slave-traders, than that he was summoned to take an active part in the pro-

[1] In Babylonian incantations not only are the evil spirits, demons, sorcerers or witches frequently accused of catching men in their nets, but also the great gods use as a terrible weapon a world-wide net, which is sometimes spiritually interpreted as their all-potent word (above p. 78). Thus, in a prayer it is said that Bēl catches the people of Nippur instead of hunting their enemies: "Father Bēl, thou throwest the net, and that net becomes a *hostile net;* . . . thou stirrest up the water and catchest the fish; thou throwest the net and catchest the bird." Similarly the god Ninib, in an enumeration of his weapons, declares: "I carry a *fishing net for the land of the enemies;* . . . I carry a fish with seven fins." But the best analogy to the parable of the net in the Last Judgment in *Matt.* 13_{47} and to the Christian idea of the Messiah as the "Fisher of men" will be found in the Sama'š-hymns, where the net of the Sun-god is said to enclose all the lands of the earth; he who is the regent of everything below and the *shepherd* of everything above, is said to exercise justice by spreading his net, in order to catch wrong-doers in it (cp. the texts in Jastrow's *Rel. Bab. u. Assyr.* i. 433-435, 461, ii. 15, etc.). In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, ch. li., we read the description of a great net in the underworld in which the souls *fear* to be caught. Plato says of the "sophist" that he goes about through the "meadows of wealth fishing men in the rivers of youth," and compares his way of capturing people in the snares of persuasion with that of a slave-hunter, a warrior and a tyrant. Taking in a man with rhetoric or juristic stratagems was described in Greek as catching him with "nets" (*diktyaka*, cp. also the humorous fishing of philosophers in Lucian's dialogue *Piscator*); the word *griphos* meaning a "net" as well as a riddle or puzzle. The Grand Veneur of German superstition, a soul- and man-hunting demon, is also described as using a dreadful net. Cp. the "black fisher working at his tricks," in Campbell, *West Highland Tales*, vol. iii. no. lviii. p. 15. Even Christian authors, Cyprian, or the biographer of S. Maximin, for example, call the *devil* a fisher of souls. I know of no contradictory instance outside he special symbolic language of the Church, which forms the subject of our resent inquiry. See also the reproduction of a Babylonian King as fisher f his vanquished enemies.

phetically foretold gathering of the 'Elect' from the four corners of the world for the Messianic judgment. If, therefore, it is absolutely necessary that an explanatory sermon on that particular prophetic passage must have preceded those last decisive words of the Lord which won him the four Galilean fishermen as his first followers, the easiest course is to suppose that the special tradition embodied in *Matt.* $13_{47f.}$ has fortunately preserved for us the beginning of this most important sermon.

At first glance it seems as if a weighty objection could be raised against this hypothesis. For in *Matt.* 13_{47} apparently the fishing, as well as the severing of the good from the bad fish, is expected as a work of the host of angels who are here supposed to accompany the Messiah at his coming, as in other passages of the Gospel concerning the *parusia;* while in *Mk.* 1_{17} = *Matt.* 4_{18} the human fishermen of the audience themselves are identified with the fishers, whom God is about to send out, according to the prophet, to catch the dispersed children of Israel. Weak mortals are here expected to undertake the superhuman task of hunting all the exiles from every mountain and from every hill and out of the holes of the rocks in all the world, so as to bring them back before the face of Jahvè, where judgment is to be passed upon them, before the 'Kingdom' is finally established. But in reality there is no material contradiction between the two views, as can easily be shown by the kindred parable of the harvest and the reapers. In *Matt.* 13_{11} the reapers are indeed the angels of the Messiah; but by their powerful interference they only finish a work which is to be begun by the few human messengers of the Lord, for: "Plenteous is the harvest, but the labourers are few"—namely among men. "Pray ye therefore,"

—who belong to the few ready human workers—"to the Lord of the harvest, that *he* will send forth labourers" —these are, of course, the host of angels as in *Matt.* 13_{41}—"into his harvest" (*Matt.* 9_{37}f.; *Lk.* 10_{2}, from Q). The whole will become only the more clear if we remember that for the Jews '*malākh*' denotes a human 'messenger' as well as an '*angelos*' of God. This can, nay must, have been the connecting link between the beginning and the conclusion of these allegoric sermons, that men are not to expect with folded hands the coming of the Messiah, but are to promote as strenuously as they can the coming of the Kingdom. If they, themselves, act as 'messengers' or '*malākhim*' of the Lord, he will finish what they cannot complete without his help, and will send forth the legions of his heavenly host, the 'angels' or '*malākhim*' of Jahvè; 'tis they who will reap the major part of the plenteous harvest, and will take with the great *drag* what the few human *anglers* of man have been unable to catch with the hook of their preaching.

According to the teaching of Jesus, little time is left before the coming of the Kingdom; it is to come before some of the younger among his audience will have tasted the bitterness of death. Accordingly (*Matt.* 10_{5}ff.) the messengers are not to go to the Gentiles and not to occupy themselves with the Samaritans; the most imperative task is to make known to the lost sheep of the house of Israel the glad tidings that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand, and that, therefore, they should repent in time, and return to the presence of Jahvè, according to the word of the prophet. The reader will notice at once that this historic limitation of the Messianic mission—strongly contrasting as it does with the late and universally

rejected sayings of the Risen Christ in *Mk.* $16_{15ff.}$ = *Matt.* 28_{19}—accords very well with the quoted Jeremian prophecy, where Jahvè sends the fishers and hunters solely after the stubborn and indifferent children of Israel, while the subsequent conversion of the Gentiles is to be the work of God alone, who "causes the worshippers of the gods which *are not*, to know this once, that his name is Jahvè"—*i.e.* the "existing one" (*Ex.* 3_{14}).

The second point of importance is that the parable of the fish-net and the story of the calling in *Mark* and *Matthew* no more contain the slightest allusion to the baptism than they aim at the conversion of the Gentiles. The function of the net, in *Matt.* 13_{47}, may be thought of as a miraculous one, though it certainly operates in a physical and not in a mystical sense. Baptism, on the contrary, is from the first a rebirth, a condition and a means for salvation, and quite different from being caught in the drag of *Matt.* 13_{47}, which contains without differentiation both the elect and the reprobate,[1] a feature of the allegory which would be impossible if the 'fish' were intended for the purified and sinless neophytes drawn out of the baptismal font. As to the mission of 'fishing men,' which is conferred on Peter and his comrades in the calling-story, there is no reason to think that they are ordered to *baptise* people. It is universally admitted by all modern critics that the tradition of the so-called "institution of baptism"

[1] With the 'good' and 'bad' fish in the great Messianic drag-net cp. the quite analogous Jewish allegory in *Ābōt de Rabbi Nātān*, ch. 40: "The disciples of Rabbi Gamaliel the Elder (*c.* 40 A.D.) were divided into . . . *clean and unclean fish.* An unclean fish is one descended from low people and lacking good sense in spite of much Biblical, Talmudic and Aggadic learning. A clean fish is one born of wealthy parents possessing sagacity together with much learning," etc.

(*Matt.* 28_{19}) was unknown to the Church when *Galat.* 2_9 was written, and even *John* 4_2 is still aware that nobody had been baptised by Jesus himself, although his disciples followed the example of John the Baptist. But even one who believes that Jesus instituted the Christian baptism in some more emphatic way than by going himself at the beginning of his ministry through the ceremony practised by the Forerunner, will be at a loss to demonstrate with any conclusive argument that Jesus bade the disciples go and *baptise* in those precise words about the catching of men, since even in much later times an apostle of Paul's rank could bluntly say that he had been sent to preach and not to baptise. In any case, the text can perfectly well be understood without introducing the idea of the baptism, still less that of a baptism to be bestowed on the converted Gentiles.

XIII.

THE PENNY IN THE FISH'S MOUTH.

A DIFFERENT decision must be arrived at concerning the 'pericopē of the statēr' in *Matt.* 17_{24-27}. The author of this legend does *not* intend to relate a miracle of Jesus, for the supernatural gift of a single piece of money would have been a somewhat trivial exercise of the Lord's divine power. If the words were intended to represent anything else than a symbolic saying of the Master, the writer would not have omitted to relate their immediate fulfilment. Moreover the question, "Doth not your master pay the shekel-tax?" has always been understood as an indication that doubts had arisen in the earliest church, as to whether this tribute was to be paid by the followers of the Christ, and that the subsequent answer of Jesus to Peter is intended as a guiding decision in the controversy. The solution of such an annually recurring difficulty would, however, be devoid of any lasting value, if the Lord had once provided a miraculous expedient for himself and for Peter, instead of giving a definitive direction to all his pupils.

If, then, the whole is an allegory, it presupposes assuredly the stern rule of *Matt.* 10_{8-10}, where the messengers of Jesus are expressly forbidden to possess and therefore also to accept any money. Unlike the greedy beggar-priests of other Oriental cults, whose behaviour dishonoured their religion in the eyes of Greeks and Romans, and whose bad example was soon followed by

Christian 'messias-mongers' (*christemporoi*), the original apostles were not allowed to accept anything beyond food and shelter from their brethren, either for the glad tidings of salvation or for the healing of the sick, the cleansing of the lepers, the raising of the dead, or for the expulsion of demons through their prayers. Even in the regulations of the still very early *Didachē* ($11_{6,12}$), where tithes of everything, even of money, are imposed on behalf of the settled 'prophets' and 'teachers' of the different communities, the original rule is retained for the travelling missionaries, whose character and antecedents are less certified for their temporary hosts: "When the apostle goes his way, he shall not receive anything but bread for the journey of the next day. If he ask for money he is a false prophet. . . . Do not listen to him who asks for money when inspired by the spirit; only the prophet who asks for others who are in need, shall not be judged by anyone."[1] Even if it had not been foreseen by Jesus, the problem must have immediately arisen, how without infringing this salutary rule, the messengers were to meet, not the easy exigencies of an Oriental pauper's daily life, but the comparatively heavy money-tax for the Jewish sanctuary (*Ex.* $30_{12f.}$ P). The symbolic solution of this dilemma in the alleged words of *Matthew* has sometimes been explained as referring to the former professional work of the apostle, to which he is advised to return in the case of emergency. Indeed a Jewish scholar was always expected to support himself by some handicraft[2] and not by his teaching, a noble principle which accords with Plato's views on the

[1] Cp. Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 8; Irenæus ii. 32_4; Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 37; vi. $18_{2,4,7,11}$.

[2] Cp. Midrash to *Eccl.* 9_9; Sabatier, *La Didaché* (Paris, 1885). to Ch. 12_3.

money earned by the 'sophists' of his time, and may easily be exemplified from Paul, the tent-maker, up to Baruch Spinoza, the venerable spectacle-glass-cutter of Amsterdam. Nevertheless it is extremely improbable that the 'fishing' should be meant in the literal sense of the word; for not even the richest haul in a big drag-net, much less a single fish, and that, too, the first taken with the hook, would have fetched a statēr —a guinea or more in modern currency. Accordingly there is nothing left but to accept the simple and convincing explanation of such Fathers as Origen,[1] S. Ambrose,[2] S. Cæsarius[3] and many others, who see in this passage an allusion to the symbolic 'fishing of men.' Indeed nothing could be more obvious than that the 'first fish' is the next convert whom Peter is to win for the community of the Christ; from him the apostle is authorised—in spite of the previous command to give freely what had been received freely—to accept a moderate voluntary gift, just enough to pay the tax for himself and for Jesus.

There are many critics who deny the authenticity of this saying; and indeed it is easy to believe that an exceptional justification of the later apostolic collecting 'for Peter,' that is for the 'prophets' and 'apostles' themselves, and 'for the Christ,' that is, according to the principle in *Matt.* 25_{40}, for the poor of the community, does not go back to the Lord himself, but to some later authority of the new Church, who found the Ebionite doctrine of those that waited for the immediate

[1] Cp. Origen in *Matt.* xiii. 10: "That coin was not to be found in the house of Jesus, but in the ocean; and it lay in the mouth of that sea-fish, who I believe came to the surface *to his own benefit*, being caught by the hook of Peter, who had become a fisher of men, (by that hook) on which *hung the metaphorically so-called fish;* in order that from him should be taken the coinage with the emperor's image," etc.

[2] *In Hexæm.* v. 6, 5. [3] *I Dial. interr.* xiv.; Gall., t. vi., p. 11 D.

arrival of the Kingdom a hindrance to the further development and organisation of the Christian community. Nevertheless a more conservative reader is always free to accept as history that once in fact the tax-collectors actually did demand the shekel-tax for the sanctuary from Jesus, who, as in the parallel story of *Mk.* $12_{15f.}$, did not possess a single penny, and that he then ordered Peter, whom he had called to become a 'fisher of men,' in his usual figurative way, to raise the modest sum from the first benevolent and wealthy adherent of their little newly-formed brotherhood whom he might encounter in the neighbourhood. One sentence, however, must be given up in any case. The juristic argumentation in vv. 25f. ("What thinkest thou, Simon? of whom do the *kings of the earth* take tax or tribute? of their own children or of strangers? *Of strangers.* Jesus saith unto him, then are *the children free*") has *no sense whatever if referred to the old temple-duty.* For neither could a contemporary of Jesus say that the half-shekel for Jahvè's house was taken by the rulers of the earth;[1] nor could any Jew, who had the slightest knowledge, not of the written law, but only of the most ordinary occurrences in his own country, believe for one moment that this tribute was due from the '*gērim*' or strangers only and not from the 'children' of Israel. All these difficulties, however,

[1] For even if we were to think of the petty kings of Judea, who governed a very small part of the earth, they had certainly no share of this purely clerical poll-tax destined for the expense of the temple-service, although they might have had a certain control over its use (*II. Kings* 12_{11}). The collecting of the half-shekel was certainly made, according to the Mishnah (*Sheḳālīm* 2_1), by a body of temple-treasurers (*gizbārīm*, *gazophylakes*), the same who had the custody of the money owned by the national sanctuary or deposited there for safety, of the sacrificial plate and vestments and of the supplies of corn, wine and oil, for ritual purposes. The treasurer mentioned by Josephus, *Ant.* xx. 8_{11}, in conjunction with the high priest, seems to have been the head of these temple-financiers. There is no suggestion whatever of any connection between the temple treasury and the public funds, which were kept in the royal palace (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* i. 18_9; iv. 3_4).

vanish immediately if the saying is applied to a later period. After the destruction of the temple the Romans continued to levy the old Jewish tribute for Jahvè as a state-tax from every grown-up Jew for the benefit of the Capitoline Jupiter's treasury,[1] that is for a fund which served as an extraordinary financial reserve for the *ærarium* of the Empire. Under Domitian this was exacted with increased severity not only from all persons who openly professed the Jewish religion, but also from all kinds of people whom the authorities chose to consider as Crypto-Jews, as well "from those who observed a Jewish mode of life, without admitting they were Jews, as from those who concealed their Jewish descent in order to avoid the tribute imposed on their nation."[2] This means that if certain religiously indifferent Jews neglected the sabbath and the fasts, the Roman officers (according to Suetonius, the imperial recorder, who seems to have copied the above quoted legal definitions from the very text of the Imperial decree) satisfied themselves as to the fact of circumcision by inspection. Since this procedure could of course not convict the so-called 'God-fearing' —the Jewish proselytes who refrained from that savage initiation-rite—Domitian declared that the mere observance of the 'Jewish life'—especially the sabbatic rest, the frequenting of the synagogues, the customary fasts, etc.[3]—should render such devotees subject to the burdensome and degrading poll-tax of the Jews.

[1] Josephus *Bell. Jud.* vii. 6 §218.

[2] Cp. Sueton. *Vita Domitiani* 12: "*qui vel improfessi Judaicam viverent vitam vel dissimulata origine imposita genti tributa non pependissent.*"

[3] Cp. Josephus, *Contra Apionem* ii. 39: "There is not a single town, Greek, Barbarian or any other, nor a single nation, to which the observance of the sabbath as it is found among ourselves has not penetrated; whilst fasting and the burning of lights and many of our laws as to meats are also observed."

Accordingly the Christians found themselves compelled either to pass for the authorities as Jewish proselytes because of their apparently 'Jewish mode of life'—and such subterfuges seem strongly condemned in *Matt.* 10_{26-34} (Q)—or to break off in disregard of the principle of *Matt.* 5_{18} (Q) from the ritual laws of the Old Testament, thereby exposing themselves as a '*religio illicita*' to serious persecutions from the government. The question had slight importance for the average circumcised Jewish Christian, who might resent this tribute to a heathen god, but who could not by any means avoid it. But it must have been a serious affair, first, for the numerous paupers in the early Church, who could not pay such a comparatively heavy tax, and might be reduced to apostasy by the new policy of the Roman emperors, which must have been intended to prevent the further progress of Christianism among the poorer classes at least, and, secondly, for the 'apostles,' 'prophets,' 'teachers,' 'shepherds' or however the clergy of the community were called, whom the salutary ecclesiastical discipline based on *Matt.* 10_{8-10} vowed to absolute poverty; and above all, for those Christian converts who had previously enjoyed freedom from all taxation, either as citizens of Rome or as inhabitants of certain privileged towns in the provinces. Thus the new policy of Domitian must on the one hand have caused a serious set-back to the further propagation of Christianism among those who enjoyed the privileges of Roman citizenship, and on the other hand have given a powerful stimulus to the growing 'antinomistic' movement among the Gentile Christians, which at last led to the heresy of Marcion.

I think we can no longer overlook the fact that *Matt.* $17_{25f.}$ obviously alludes to this critical situation

of the Roman citizens among the members of the Church. The "kings of the earth" is a very appropriate description of the Roman Cæsars; they alone can be said to take tax and tribute *not from* "their children," the legally immune Roman citizens, but from the conquered or allied provincials, the "strangers" of the gospel-text. The evangelist theoretically approves—in the name of the Lord—the legal standpoint of these brethren, who refused to pay the tribute; for "the children (*sc.* of Rome) are free," and these Christian proselytes were never Jews and had not become Jews through their conversion. Yet he who wrote these lines was an opportunist and wanted above all to dissuade his flock from provoking the Pagan government by refusing the tax and thus professing openly a *new* 'illicit' religion. The solution of the controversy which he proposes in order to avoid the imminent 'scandal,' is a wise application of the Pauline principle (*Rom.* 15_{27}): "If the Gentiles have been made partakers of their (*sc.* the poor saints' at Jerusalem) spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things"—clad in transparent symbolism. The newly converted Christian neophytes, the 'fish' caught by the hook of S. Peter, will henceforth have to present to the 'fisher' or apostle, who initiates them into spiritual communion with the Christ, the modest offering of one statēr, that is the double amount of the poll-tax. From the fund collected in this way one half is the 'pence of Christ,' from which the tax will be paid for the poor, who cannot find the sum for themselves, the other half is the 'pence of Peter,' from which the unpaid clergy will pay their tribute. The whole regulation is nothing but an adaptation of the traditional Jewish law for

the reception of proselytes (Mishna, *Pesāchim* 8₈, *Kerīthōt* 2₁), which requires—in addition to circumcision, which was dispensed with by the Pauline school—lustration by immersion in water (*tĕbilah*), that is baptism, and the *presentation of an offering* (*ḳorbān*). As, moreover, the oldest extant Christian homily, the so-called *Second Letter of Clement* (1₃. 9₆), defines the "tribute" we are to pay to God,[1] as "repentance from a pure heart," and as the Christian baptism is considered throughout the whole New Testament as a sacrament of repentance, it is most probable that the payment of one statēr by the neophyte or the 'fish' was considered as *a sin-offering*, atoning for his former sinful life and therefore appropriately *connected with the baptismal rite*, that removes the previous moral and ceremonial uncleanness of the Pagan convert.

The best proof for the correctness of this hypothesis is offered by the fact, that until the end of the third century of our era the Christian neophytes were usually expected to throw coins into the baptismal font during the immersion.[2] By fishing this money out of the water, the clergy obtained in a discreet way the necessary surplice-fees, without directly infringing the command to "give freely what they had received freely." The invention of this artful subterfuge from the prescription of *Matt.* 10₉—as such indeed it was

[1] Cp. S. Ambrose, *In Hexæm.* v. 6, 5: "The fish, therefore, art thou, O man, . . . in the *confession* of whose mouth a good price is found, in order that *the tribute of Christ may be paid.*" If 'Clement' puts "tribute for God" in place of "tribute for Jesus," it is because he has said just a few lines before: "We are to think about Jesus Christ as we think about God," and because the Church Fathers regularly combine the statēr parable with the tribute-money in *Mark* 12₁₇.

[2] As baptism was considered according to *Col.* 2₁₂ as a burial, and as the Greeks were wont to put a coin under the tongue of the deceased before burial, it seems quite probable that the neophytes or 'fishes' held the coins in their mouths and dropped them while under water.

condemned and abolished by the Council of Elvira[1]—can only be understood as a far driven literalism, if the statēr parable was from the first intended as a justification of 'voluntary' oblations to be obtained by the new clergy through the exercise of the spiritual 'fishing' function.

The result of the above analysis of *Matt.* 17_{24-27} accordingly is that, as the text stands,[2] it refers to *the conversion of the Gentiles*, and seems definitely to connect the symbols of the *fish* and the *fisher* with the *baptismal rite* in the same way as the paintings in the Roman catacombs and the comments of the Fathers have been proved to do. This result, together with the above discussed fact that this text alone speaks of the *angling* which is also exclusively represented in the earliest extant monuments of Christian art, will easily be understood if we remember that the pericopē must have been written under Domitian, that is, somewhat about the same time as the painting of the Flavian gallery seems to have been executed. The reader will notice, moreover, that while the undoubtedly genuine sayings of Jesus (*Matt.* 13_{47} and *Mk.* 1_{17} = *Matt.* 4_{18}) are *not concerned with the conversion of the Gentiles* and use the fishing metaphor only as a figure for the *catechising and gathering* of the Jews in the Diaspora which is to prepare the coming of the Kingdom and the final gathering of the

[1] Canon 48, *Corp. Juris Canonici*, c. 104, C. I. Q. 1: "We have decided to reform the abuse of *the baptised throwing coins into the font*, in order to avoid the appearance of the priest divulging for lucre what he has received for love."

[2] We cannot exclude with absolute certainty the hypothesis that the evangelist adapted an *older version*—without v. 25f. (cp. p. 94 above)—to the requirements of a later age. But apart from the apologetic tendency to save at least v. 27 as a genuine saying of Jesus, I do not see the slightest motive for constructing such an artificial theory, especially as it is quite improbable that the legality of the *old* shekel-tax should ever have been questioned during the life-time of Jesus.

Elect, the first text which alludes to the baptism of the Gentiles as to a mystic 'fishing,' was certainly composed half a century after the death of Jesus, and most probably by an authority of the Christian Church at Rome, where the question of the tribute-statēr had the greatest interest for the practical life of the community.

Yet with all that, the historical interest of the statēr-story in *Matth.* 17[24-27] is by no means exhausted, or certainly the most arresting feature of that allegory will be found in the fact that in it *Orphic influence* can be traced with almost as equally strong evidence as in the paintings of the Domitilla catacomb (s. pp. 67ff.). Indeed the central motive of the allegory of the statēr in the mouth of the fish caught by the apostolic fisherman is beyond doubt taken from a frequently recurring popular tale of the more or less miraculous acquisition of various mythical trinkets, which seems to have been very familiar to the initiates of the Dionysian mysteries.

The limited space of which I can dispose, does not allow of an exhaustive comparative treatment of all extant versions of this story. It will be enough therefore to remind the reader of the previously quoted (p. 60 n. 2) legends about the episcopal fisher-ring of S. Arnulph of Trèves, which have an exact parallel in the life of S. Attilanus, who threw his bishop's ring into the water from fear that he was an unworthy servant of the Lord. At his prayer, that God might let him find the ring again, if He could forgive his sins, the ensign of his dignity was recovered in the belly of a fish. The same story is told about S. Kentigern, who bade the Pagan Scots fish in the Clyde and bring him the first fish they should take; whereon a ring of the queen, which the king had thrown into the water, was found

in the belly of the fish, and in memory of this miracle the escutcheon of Glasgow bears to the present day a ring in the mouth of a salmon.[1] Again, an image of Eanswida in Folkestone represents the saint (doubtless owing to some special version of the same miracle) with two fish and half a ring. A group of kindred Christian legends replaces the ring, which is of course in all cases originally the episcopal ring presented by the 'fish,' *i.e.* the members of the Christian community, by the key—evidently the 'key of heaven,' entrusted to Peter in *Matt.* 16_{19}. S. Mauritius loses the key of the sacristy of the Angers cathedral in the sea on his flight to England. When he was brought back by an embassy to France, a fish jumped into the ship[2] on the cross-channel passage and so the key was restored. S. Egwin before he began a pilgrimage of repentance to Rome locked himself in irons and threw the key into the sea; when he returned by ship to England, a fish was caught by one of the crew, and the key of the saint's chains was found in its belly. S. Benno, the patron of Munich, flung the key of the cathedral of Meissen into the Elb before departing to Rome, so that the excommunicated king Henry IV. might not be able to enter the sanctuary. When he returned, a fish was caught and the key found in its belly. Other transparent allegories underlie the legends of S. Lupe, who finds a precious stone, and of S. Patroclus, who finds a pearl,[3] in the mouth of a fish.

[1] This detail must be attributed in all probability to the influence of the Celtic legends about the 'salmon of wisdom' (*eo feasa*), recorded by Sir John Rhys in the *Hibbert Lectures* for 1886, pp. 553ff. Cp. also p. 23 n. 5 and p. 46 above.

[2] Cp. the legend of Apollo *in the shape of a dolphin jumping into the Cretan ship* and guiding it to the place where the Delphic sanctuary was to be founded (Usener, *Sintflutsagen*, pp. 145f.).

[3] The symbol of the "pearl to be brought from the depth of the sea" is familiar to the reader of Mead's *Fragments of a Faith Forgotten* (pp. 406ff.),

The Pagan original of all these tales is best known in the form of the Polykrates-saga in *Herodot.* iii.41, but it recurs in Venetian folklore in the ring which the Doge throws into the sea at his annually repeated mystic marriage-feast, and in the Jewish and Arabian legends about the magic ring of King Solomon. Now we are informed by Clement of Alexandria (*Pædag.* iii.59, p. 289 Pot.) that the ring of Polykrates, which was kept in the Temple of Concordia in the times of Pliny, bore the significant engraving of the 'musical lyre,' which was also a favourite *intaglio* on the seals of the Christians. I say the significant sign, because we have a further group of old myths about certain treasures or sacred objects, found *not* in the belly of a fish, but taken *directly in the nets* of certain 'fishers,' and because in the long list of objects acquired in this miraculous way we find above all the mystic oracle-giving *head of Orpheus* and the wizard singer's *magic lyre.*

This list of wonder-working objects includes, *e.g.*, the wooden image or the *phallos* of Osiris and that of Dionysos; the image of the Tyrian 'Herakles,' that is of the *fisher-god* Ṣid (cp. pp. 22f.), worshipped in Erythræ; the statue of the hero Theagenes, the 'son of the Goddess'; the floating box containing poor Danaë and her infant son Perseus, or the maiden-mother Augē ('Brightness') and her child Tēlēphos (the 'Far-away Light'), or the Heavenly Twins them-

from the Gnostic 'Hymn of the Soul' in the *Acts of Thomas* (c. 108). *The Teaching of the Apostles* 9$_5$ proves that the 'pearls' in *Matt.* 7$_6$, which must not be cast before the swine, were explained as the *eucharist*, which should not be given to the unclean. But it is equally possible to take the 'pearl' as a symbol for the 'kingdom of heaven' according to *Matt.* 13$_{45f.}$ (cp. *Rev.* 21$_{21}$, the pearl gates of the paradise). The 'precious stone' is the Christ himself according to *1 Petr.* 2$_{4-6}$. In the Pagan original of the myth the pearl (Lat.-Gr. *margaritum*=Babyl. *mâr galittu*, 'Lord of the Ocean') is a pledge of the *thalassokratia*, assured by the ring of Polykrates as well as by the ring of the Duke of Venice.

selves; the brass bottle with the jinn of *The Arabian Nights* in it and the seal of Solomon's ring on the stopper; the barrel which contains the infant S. Gregory, the seamless coat of Christ, the gold mug, which the devil flung malignantly into the greedy fisher's net; and finally the Apollinic tripod, cauldron or cup of the Seven Sages, as well as the ivory shoulder of Pelops, the legendary counterpart of Pythagoras' fabulous golden leg.

The legend of Erythræ about the statue of the Tyrian god centres round the figure of a blind yet prophetic fisherman, whose significant name is '*Phormion*'=the '*Lyre-player*.' But the most convincing proof of the 'Orphic,' that is Dionysiac, origin of the whole formula is afforded by a Neo-Greek version from 'Agia Anna' (*v.* Hahn, no. 109—without parallels in the folklore of other nations), where a fisherman for some time catches fish, with diamonds in their bellies, and sells them, though in ignorance of their precious contents, to a Jew for fabulous prices. Once, however, he catches a beautiful 'palamide,'[1] which he decides to keep for himself. In the belly of this animal he finds a golden cup (evidently the same which occurs in the Seven Sages legend and in the various sagas of the mythic diver). To celebrate the event and to feast on the fish, he invites his friends. They begin to drink wine from ordinary vessels, but at the end the 'fisher'

[1] A kind of tunny-fish, the '*pēlamys*' or '*kybion*' (=cube-fish) of the classic Greek, which is even now called '*palamyde*' at Marseilles. The name signifies the 'hand-fish' (from *palamē*='palm'). This is most interesting, because the 'hand' is a well-known symbol of the Semitic 'Mother-goddess,' which occurs frequently, *e.g.*, in Punic inscriptions, and because this 'Mother-goddess' is believed to be the mother of the Fish-god Ichthys. Cp. the cylinder (Ward, no. 31) in the British Museum, where a goddess is represented standing between an erect 'fish' and an open 'hand,' and the archaic Bœotian vase (no. 220, in the Museum at Athens), where the fish is to be seen in the womb of the Mother-goddess.

pours wine into the new gold cup. Immediately the vessel appears filled with *gold coins ;* the same wonder is repeated as often as the cup is emptied and filled again with wine. The 'fisher' understands at last that he has become a *rich man* by the power of the cup,[1] and as he had always loved music, he devotes himself henceforth entirely to *lyre-playing and learns to play so beautifully, that no heart can resist the charm of his melodies.* The reader will thus see at once that this Greek 'fisher' with his miraculous golden cup full of *wine* and his magic lyre-playing cannot possibly be separated from Dionysos 'Halieus' or 'Orpheus.'

As to the various myths of the money, the trinket—or the sacred object, found in the fish or in the meshes of the fisherman's net, it is easy to show from such parallels as, *e.g.*, another Neo-Greek tale (*v.* Hahn, no. 91, p. 113f.), or the story of the 'white snake' (no. 17 of the Grimm collection), that they all belong originally to the so-called 'grateful animal' type, the characteristic features of which consist in the liberation or saving of an animal by the hero of the story and in the help or benefit which this animal returns to its benefactor. For example in Grimm's no. 17 a man saves the life of three fish entangled in the reeds surrounding a pool, of some ants crossing the road and in danger from the hoofs of his horse, and of some young ravens fallen out of their nest. The hero wants to win the hand of a princess and has first to perform three tasks: recover a golden ring, thrown into the sea by the king (just as Theseus in the legend about the ring of Minos in

[1] Of course this *is* the myth of the '*rich* fisher,' the owner of the precious vessel, who occurs in different versions of the Grail-romances (s. W. A. Nitze, 'The Fisher King in the Grail Romances,' *Publ.* Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, XXIV. 3, pp. 365 and 373).

Bacchylides); collect in one night ten sacks of millet which have been scattered through a forest; and find the golden apple from the tree of life. The apple is brought by the grateful ravens; the millet is collected by the armies of the ant-king; and *the ring is brought from the deep in a shell*[1] *by one of the liberated fish.* We may safely assume that in all the quoted cases it is the grateful 'king of the fishes' or 'fish-god' who makes one of his subjects swallow the lost trinket, etc., and be caught by the hook of the merciful hero or who puts the precious object directly into the kind-hearted fisherman's net, just as in other versions he shows his gratitude by saving the life of the lyre-player by carrying him ashore, or by granting three wishes to the fisher. This explains why the origin of the Pagan legends of this type must be looked for in the superstitions of those fishermen who were wont to venerate with religious awe one distinct kind of 'tabooed' fish, and accordingly expected that these grateful fish would grant them in return a rich take of other common fish, and perhaps also, as an exceptional favour, some trinket or talisman from the fabulous treasures of the all-devouring sea.

It goes without saying that a sect like the Orphics or Pythagoræans, who abstained absolutely from eating any kind of fish, must have claimed a special recompense from the Fish-god, and that consequently the above-analysed type of legends enjoyed special favour among them. The same holds good of the Christian worshippers of the great mystic Ichthys or Fish, Jesus Christ, and we must frankly confess that the author of *Matt.* 17_{27} could not have chosen a more appropriate

[1] This detail points, of course, to the above explained symbol of the pearl in the original version.

symbol for the neophyte paying tribute to the apostle who has saved the life of his soul, than that of the grateful fish rewarding his saviour which occurs so frequently in Greek and Oriental popular tales.

XIV.

THE MIRACULOUS DRAUGHT LEGENDS.

THE first passage we have to deal with is *the story of the miraculous draught* in *Luke* 5_{1-11}. The reason why it has been introduced into the context of the third gospel is obvious. 'Mark' wrote at a time when the 'fisher of men' symbol had become nearly as familiar to the Christian Church as it is to the present reader; thus he could allow himself to cut out the whole explanatory sermon of Jesus preceding the symbolic 'call,' in order to give his account a dramatic vivacity which must have been wanting in the more accurate reproduction of the sermon and its immediate effects in the original 'Logia' tradition. This laconic but impressive rendering was followed by 'Matthew,' who may have appreciated its qualities; 'Matthew,' however, would not omit the beautiful parable of the drawnet, and so inserted it into a series of kindred similes in ch. 13. Still later, when the 'call' pericopē had become one of the fundamental texts of the new doctrine, its brevity must have been felt somewhat out of keeping with its dogmatic importance. On this account and for the intrinsic reasons which can be surmised from an analysis of this addition, the original account of 'Mark' was embellished with a consciously framed allegory which has been successfully explained ever since the rise of the Tübingen School. The vain toil-

ing of Simon and his comrades during the whole night signifies the practically fruitless mission among the Palestinian Jews; the launching forth into the deep at the special bidding of Jesus and the unexpected haul symbolise the highly successful mission to the farther distant heathen lands, which Peter would not undertake before he had received a special divine command through the vision related in *Acts* 10_{9-22}. The sin of which Peter becomes suddenly conscious in verse 8 is his hitherto neglect of and even opposition to the mission to the Gentiles. The second boat called in to assist, is a figure of the decisive share—underrated from obvious motives in this allegory—which Paul took in the successful extension of the 'man-fishing' to the Gentiles.[1] That the nets threatened to break and that the boats began to sink from the weight of the excessive number of fish, does not seem to signify —as Carpenter[2] once suggested—the quarrel between the Petrine and the Pauline party, for this had certainly nothing to do with the too rapidly increased number of converts. I think it is an unmistakable hint of the imminent danger of disruption, and even submersion in the flood of Paganism, brought upon the original Church through the rapid rise of syncretistic or so-called Gnostic heresies among the new, originally Pagan Christians of the Pauline church. Consequently we cannot doubt that the allegory of the 'miraculous draught' contains even more obvious references to the conversion of the Gentiles than the previously analysed legend of the statēr.[3] As to the exact sense of the 'fishing' symbol in this narrative, we may safely assume

[1] Cp. on this detail the acute reasoning of P. W. Schmiedel in Cheyne's *Encycl. Bibl.* col. 4575.

[2] *The First Three Gospels*, pp. 206-208.

[3] Cp. above ch. xiii. pp. 100ff.

that here too the baptising and not only the catechising of the converts is intended, although we must confess that the text itself does not afford any conclusive argument for deciding this important question.

The main 'motive' of the story can be paralleled in a well-known group of popular tales. In the *Arabian Nights*, for instance, the reader will find the same 'plot' in at least two different places. In the story of Ali Nur ed Din and Enis en Djelis we read of Harun ar Raschid meeting the fisher Kerīm, who is fishing before the gates of the imperial palace in Baghdad. The ruler of the believers addresses the fisherman with the gracious and portentous words: "Fish with my luck." The fisherman, trembling with joy, casts his net into the stream. When he draws it ashore again, the net is found bursting with innumerable fish of all kind. Then the Khalifa changes dress with Kerīm and one of the innumerable stories of Harun ar Raschid in disguise follows. In the original form of the tale, however, the 'good luck' of the just king—(a superstition on which the reader may compare Dr. J. G. Frazer's five lectures on *The Early History of Kingship*, pp. 118, 124ff., or more especially *Odyssey*, $19_{109, 113}$)—must have been magically conferred on the fisherman, not only by the Khalifa's words, but also by the gift of the sacred imperial garments; only in all probability for the sake of an easier transition to the following humorous adventure of Harun, has the story-teller inverted the much more rational sequence of events in his primary source. Still more interesting is the close analogy between *Luke* 5_{1-11} and a variant of the alleged fable in the 'Story of the Three Apples' (XVIIth Night). Harun and his vizier Jāfar while passing through a slum of

Baghdad encounter an extremely poor old fisherman with his net and his basket, who complains about his misfortunes in a couplet of flowery verse. The Khalifa asks: "What is thy calling?" The old man answers: "My lord, I am a fisher, and I have a wife and children waiting for me at home. *I left my house at noon and until now, past midnight, God has not permitted me to catch anything* for the support of my family." (Cp. the words: "Master, we have toiled all the night and have taken nothing" in *Luke* 5$_5$.) "Wilt thou return," said the Khalifa, "to the Tigris and cast thy net *with my luck?* Everything thou catchest, I will buy for a hundred dinars." The fisherman is delighted with this proposal, goes with the Khalifa to the shore, casts his net into the river and catches a heavy box, which Harun buys for the sum named. In the box is found the body of a girl, who had been thus thrown into the water, as they soon come to discover, on an unjust suspicion of adultery—a conclusion which betrays at once the close relation of this fairy tale to the 'Danaë' type, with the floating box containing the heroine and caught in the net of the fishers, and the fisher-king 'Diktys' of Seriphos. The author of *Luke* 5$_{1-11}$ may have known a Greek counterpart of our Arabian tale and equated Peter the Apostolic Fisher with the mythic Diktys and Jesus with a figure, which in the Seriphian story seems to have been Zeus, the lover and protector of Danaë, while adapting all minor details of his narrative with the greatest skill to the theological purposes of his gospel.

Several significant variations of the fish-draught, as it is related in the third gospel, are offered by the parallel account in the last chapter of the evangel according to 'John,' a pericopē which is beyond doubt

a 'tendency' appendix to 1-20, differing not only in substantial details but even in the vocabulary from the fourth gospel, yet obviously dependent in these very respects on the 'synoptic' style.[1] This version no longer distinguishes the Pauline from the Petrine boat, neither does it mention the temporary failure or even resignation of the fisherman which occurs already in the Pagan model of the legend. Evidently the memory of the dissension between Paul and the 'Pillars' of the Jerusalem community as well as of the harm caused by this controversy to the first progress of the Gospel had faded away at that time, or at least lost its former importance for the rising 'catholic' Church. Similarly the boat of the disciples is no more in danger of sinking, and it is expressly stated that the net was *not* rent: this means that the Church has now victoriously asserted itself against the dangers of the initial stage.

But these alterations are of small importance compared with the striking fact that in *John* 21_7, although there is no perceptible outward motive for such an outburst of impetuosity, Peter *leaps into the water* to meet the Lord by swimming *a distance of some* 200 *cubits;* only after this is he able *alone* to drag the net ashore, which had before proved too heavy

[1] Cp. P. W. Schmiedel, *Enc. Bibl.*, 2548 §40. The easiest explanation of these peculiarities is afforded by the plausible hypothesis of Rohrbach and Harnack, that it is the lost conclusion of *Mark*, relating the Galilean apparition of the risen Christ, announced in *Mark* 16_4, which lies at the foundation of both *John* 21 and the lost conclusion of the *Gospel of Peter* found at Akhmîm (chh. 12 and 13: Magdalen and the women at the empty tomb, parallel to *Mark* 16_{1-8}; ch. 14: the twelve disciples, deeply depressed, return each to his home; but Simon Peter and Andrew together with Levi the son of Alphaios, and others *take their nets and go to the lake of Galilee.* . . .) This would account at once for the peculiar 'synoptic' style and the predominance of Peter in *John* 21. Consequently *John* 21 offers a version of the 'draught story' which may be in more than one respect *older* than *Luke* 5_{1-11}, although details such as the assertion that the net was *not* rent prove beyond doubt the writer's, or, as we may call him, the last redactor's acquaintance with the text of *Luke*.

for *all* the fishermen (*John* $21_{6, 11}$). This feature of the narrative admits only of one explanation: at a very early date the question (cp. *e.g.* Tertull. *De bapt.*, ch. 12) arose among those Paulinist theologians for whom baptism was an indispensable condition of salvation, whether the disciples themselves, before they were sent on their missions, had received the baptism of Christ—instituted according to them by the (probably apocryphal) words: "Teach all nations, baptising them," etc. in *Matt.* 28_{19}—and where and when this important ceremony had been performed. Of course no such text was to be found in the Synoptists; yet the urgent theological need had to be answered if the dogma itself was to be maintained against possible attacks, and indeed different legends arose under the pressure of this necessity. The author of the Zacharias-legend at the end of the *Proto-Evangelium Jacobi* would not even believe that John the Forerunner could have baptised his hearers if he had not himself received the sacrament before from Jesus, and accordingly invents a fanciful tale to accommodate his theological prejudice. Similarly in the circle in which the fourth gospel was composed, the ministry of Christ to the disciples in *Luke* 22_{27} was interpreted as having been the symbolic washing performed through baptism, without which they "*could have no part with him*" (*John* 13_{8}). But even as in this very account, representing the view of one school whose ideas the evangelist wishes to refute through a 'saying' of the Lord, Peter seems dissatisfied with the symbolic act of washing only his feet[1] and begs for a more extensive cleansing

[1] The reader will remember that the African, Milanese and Gallican Churches continued for a considerable time to practise the footwashing ceremony *in connection with* the baptism (cp. J. W. F. Höfling, *Das Sakrament der Taufe*, 1846, i. 544f.). It is not impossible that in the Church of

of his body, so a party in the Church seems to have opposed those who allowed—as does, *e.g.*, the very early *Didaché*—a simple sprinkling with water or a merely partial washing, and to have insisted on the full immersion, in the same way as baptism is practised up to the present day in the Orthodox Church. To satisfy these and perhaps as a protest of the 'Petrine' school against *John* 13$_{10}$, the voluntary immersion of Peter was inserted into the narrative of *Luke*, if indeed it has not simply been preserved from the Markan source by the author of our appendix to *John*. The meaning of this detail is clearly that the chief of the Apostles received the full baptism by immersion in the presence of the Lord through his own fervent desire to approach his Saviour[1]; most probably the tradition preserved by Clemens Alexandrinus (Zahn, *Suppl. Clem.* 69), that Peter alone of all the disciples was baptised by Jesus himself, refers to this event in *John* 21 or to a parallel account in *The Gospel of Peter;* for in *John* 13 the feet of all the twelve alike are washed by Jesus.

The best evidence for this explanation is to be found in the following accidental details of our text.

Asia Minor, where the Gospel was written, the washing of the feet alone had for some time even supplanted the original total immersion. Serv. *ad. Æn.* iv. 167 proves that the footwashing was a Pagan marriage custom. Accordingly its adoption as an initiation rite must belong to that circle of mystic marriage ceremonies, which a certain group of the Marcionites (Irenæus i. 14, p. 183, Harvey)—and probably not they alone—had derived from such metaphoric phraseology as *Mark* 2$_{19}$, *Matt.* 22$_{2f.}$, *John* 3$_{29}$, 2 *Cor.* 11$_{2}$, *Rev.* 19$_{7ff.}$, 21$_{2}$, obviously under the influence of the Hebrew euphemism 'to wash one's feet' for the coition (2 *Sam.* 11$_{8}$, cp. 11; *Midr. Num. r. sect. Beshalaḥ; Sohar*, ed. de Pauly, i. p. 47 n. 1).

[1] Cp. *Matt.* 14$_{28}$: "Lord if it be thou bid me come unto thee *over the water.*" This is an interesting parallel also in so far as the Christ walking —like Jahvè in *Job* 9$_{8}$ (cp. *Ps.* 77$_{20}$)—over the water is of course an allusion to the mystic 'fish,' "treading the paths of the sea" (*Ps.* 89; cp. p. 72 above, the quotation from Paulinus of Nola). As long as Peter believes, he too is one of the 'fishes,' caught in the net of the Divine Word, and consequently also able to "pass through the watery paths." Cp., *e.g.*, S. Ambrosius *in Hexæm.* V. 6$_{5}$: "Thou art a fish, O man . . . leap over the waves, as thou art a fish; the breakers of this world will not submerge thee."

Strange as it seems Peter does not *put off* his clothes before jumping into the water, but on the contrary *having little on before*—this is the meaning of the Greek word *gymnos*[1]—he puts on his over-coat (*tòn ependytēn*) at the critical moment—evidently *not* in order to appear more decently clad before Jesus, as some rather naïve commentators have supposed, but because in the baptism the neophyte "puts on[2] Jesus the Christ" (*Gal.* 3_{27}; *Rom.* 13_{14}) and through him immortality (*1 Cor.* 15_{53}), so that "being clothed we shall not be found naked" (*2 Cor.* 5_{3}). In fact, the Early Christian Church, because of these three passages and the corresponding symbolic rite,[3] was quite accustomed to call the baptism a 'garment' (*endyma*), an 'eternal robe,' or even a 'garment of immortality.'[4] That the *motive* of the Apostle's putting on of the mystic 'over-coat' before beginning the successful haul-

[1] Cp. *Demosth.* 21_{216}, Plato, *Legg.* xii. 954a; Xenoph. *Anab.* i. 10_{3}; and prior to them Hesiod, *Opp.* 389. Light dress is also characteristic of the fishermen on the monuments, *e.g.* in all the paintings, etc., which have been mentioned in chh. ix. and x.; also on Pagan parallels from Herculaneum or from the Farnesina house they have nothing on but the small *perizōma*, or at best a single short tunic. With this light dress which Peter wears before his immersion, we must compare the ritual prescription that the convert has to put off everything but the 'small shirt' (*chitoniskos*) before receiving baptism. In this state he is expressly called '*gymnos*.' Cp. the evidence in Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, etc., pp. 200f.

[2] Gk. '*endyei*'; but cp. with the noun '*ependytēs*' in *John* 21_{7} the verb '*ependysasthai*' in the absolutely parallel passage *2 Cor.* 5_{2}.

[3] A new white linen garment was given to the neophyte in the course of the baptismal ceremony (cp. Höfling, *l.c.*, 539f.). Very interesting is a letter of St. Jerome (*Ep.* 64_{20}) in which he says: "When we are prepared to put on the Christ and have put off our woollen garments, then shall we be clothed in a white *linen* garment." The reader will remember the statement of Herodotus about the aversion from woollen garments in the Orphic order and about the exclusive use of linen funeral robes. Yet we must not conclude too much from this coincidence, because the same taboos were observed in the mysteries known through an inscription from Andania, in the mysteries of Isis, and above all by the Jewish Essenes.

[4] Cp. Basil., Migne, *Patrol. Græca*, xxxii. 1033; Greg. Naz., *ibid.*, xxxv. i. 361; Greg. Nyss., *ibid.*, xlvi. 420; Const. Apost. viii. 6 (p. 382 Anal.); Lit. Basil. 776; Chrysost. 89a; *Præs. auct.* 95b. Swain's *Syr. Hymns of Rabulas*, 1 and 4; *Acta Thomæ*, 132: "He who puts on (*endyomenos*) the purification of baptism."

ing of the net might have been taken from the plot of the Pagan fish-draught legend, will easily be admitted by those readers who remember the fisherman clad in the luck-bearing garments of the Khalifa in the above-quoted fable from *The Arabian Nights*.

The theological metaphor of "putting on Jesus," which the author has so skilfully combined with an apparently insignificant detail of his source, is so very strange a phrase that only the frequent, almost proverbial, use of it in Christian pastoral rhetoric could have made us forget for a time its obviously mystic and enigmatical character.[1] Indeed it is only since the recent rediscovery of the old esoteric cypher-system of the earliest Orphic and Pythagorean texts in all its archaic simplicity that we can offer an altogether satisfactory explanation of this symbolism.

Whatever had been known previously of numeral mysticism in Early Christian literature—*e.g.* the famous 666 in *Revelations*, the 888 for the name of Jesus (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ) in Marcus, the 801 = Omega-Alpha for the Dove (ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑ) of the Holy Spirit, etc. —was all based, as well as the Pagan parallels of 'Mithras' (ΜΕΙΘΡΑΣ) or 'Abraxas' (ΑΒΡΑΞΑΣ) = 365, etc., on the so-called Milesian or common Greek system of expressing numbers by the letters of the alphabet,—namely, A=1, B=2, Γ=3 . . . Stigma=6 . . . I=10, IA=11, . . . K=20 . . . Koppa=90, P=100, etc. Yet Carl Robert had shown years ago that there existed another system of number-writing, anterior to this decimal mode, found *e.g.* on inscribed

[1] It is entirely misleading to derive the Pauline phrase from Seneca's (*Epist.* vii. 5 [67] 12) "*indue magni viri animum*," "put on the great man's soul." On the contrary, Seneca uses here the terminology of certain Oriental mysteries (cp. n. 2, p. 117 below, and *e.g. Orac. Chald.*, p. 51 n. 2, Kroll, "*psychē hessamenē noûn*," "the soul clothed with the spirit," and the kindred passages in Cumont's *Religions orientales*, p. 309, n. 54.

tablets of the Dodonean oracle-priests, etc., which is quite familiar to every reader of Homer as the twenty-four cantos of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are simply numbered with the twenty-four sequent letters of the Greek alphabet—A=1, B=2, Γ=3, . . . K=10, Λ=11, . . . Φ=21, X=22, Ψ=23, Ω=24—, without the supplementary signs Stigma, Koppa and Sampi used in the other series. Now this oldest cypher-system is (according to a fortunate hypothesis of Wolfgang Schultz, which the present writer has been able to test many times in his book *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*[1]) the very system used by the Orphic and Pythagorean mystics to conceal their innermost mystery-secrets. And in fact, according to this method of evaluating letters, the Greek word for the mystic garment, '*chitōn*' (XITΩN=22+9+19+24+13=87) is an '*isopsēphon*,' as the mystics themselves call it, or numerical equivalent, for the name 'Jesus' (IHΣOYΣ=9+7+18+15+20+18=87). Of course this *is* really ridiculous futility; but it was a sufficient argument for "him who had understanding to count the number" (*Rev.* 13_{18}), to prove conclusively to an adept of Pythagorean lore, that the "name" of Jesus, "into which" (literally, *eis onoma*) the Christians were baptised, could be "put on" even as a heavenly "garment," instead of the "old man" (*Col.* 3_9), the physical garment of flesh, the "*sarkōn chitōn*" of Empedokles (*Fr.* 126, Diels), defiled by sin and impurity, which had been warped by Jahvè and woven in the depths of the earth according to a picturesque phrase in *Psalm* $139_{13, 15}$ (cp. *Job.* 10_{11}). I need not say that the idea of wrapping the initiate in a mystic robe, in order to assimilate or to identify him

[1] The application of this archaic series of numeral values of the alphabet to the purposes of 'isopsēphic' calculation can now be at last conclusively *proved* from Artemidoros, *On.* ii. 70, pp. 164-166 (Hercher).

with the divinity, is as frequently met with in the Pagan mysteries as it is alien to the old Jewish cult-system.[1] If, however, the simile was used by Paul—obviously under the influence of Hermetism[2]—it can be safely supposed in later texts like *John* 21, or his possibly Markan source, and all the more if this piece of mystic number-lore is perfectly in keeping with other essential features of our narrative, such as the fact that precise numbers full of symbolic bearing are given both for the cubits over which Peter has to swim from the boat to the Lord Jesus, and for the multitude of 'great fishes' caught in the Apostle's net. For—as has been noticed by critics before[3]—*the number 200 represents according to Philo* (*in Genes.* 5_{22}) '*repentance*,' as though meaning that Simon needed but to repent

[1] Prescriptions like *Genes.* 35_2, "Put away the strange gods . . . be clean and *change your garments* . . . I will make . . . an altar unto God," may have had a certain influence on the origin of the custom of giving a new clean dress, after their ablution, to the proselytes—whether Jewish or Christian, makes little difference. On the other hand, the words of God to a Messianic figure such as the High Priest Joshua (Jesus, in LXX.), in *Zech.* 3_{2-5}, who was clothed in filthy garments, but obtained a change of raiment from the Lord as a sign that God had caused his iniquity to pass from him, may be found to underlie the mysterious legend of *Mark* 9_3, *Matt.* 17_2, *Luke* 9_{29}. Cp. above all *Is.* 61_{10}: "The Lord hath clothed me with the *garments of salvation*, he has covered me with the *robe of righteousness*." The only Jewish document, however—if it does not prove after all of Christian origin—which uses such *mystic* expressions as "to put on the light, after having put off darkness" (21_2), "to put on everlastingness" (15_8), "*the name of the Lord*" (39_7), or "joy" or "love" or "divine bounty" (20_7) or "holiness" (13_2) or "*the robe of the spirit* instead of the coat of skins" (25_8 cp. Gen. 8_{21}), are the newly found *Odes of Solomon*, written, if Harnack is right, not long before the destruction of the Temple, but according to his numerous adversaries even later than the fourth Gospel.

[2] According to a doctrine of Hermetism (*Poimandres*, c. 25 and kindred texts, cp. Mead's *Thrice-greatest Hermes*, i. 418ff.) the human soul is enveloped when descending through the seven—or five—planetary spheres as it were in seven or five garments, with seven or five vicious energies; when ascending to heaven it has to get rid of all these foul envelopes and to replace them by as many heavenly robes. Now *Coloss.* 3_8ff. evidently alludes to this symbolism, as Paul exhorts the Christians to put off the "old man" together with the five evil qualities of anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication, and to put on the Christ as the "new man," together with the five virtues ($_{12}$) "bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering." Cp. also the significant passage in *Acts* 14_{12} where Paul is taken for an incarnation of Hermes by the people of Lystra.

[3] Cp. E. A. Abbot, *Encycl. Bibl.* col. 1797.

(cp. *Luke* 5_8), in order to approach the Saviour by means of a sacrament, which is called throughout the whole 'synoptic' tradition, upon which the author of *John* 21 is so clearly dependent,[1] a '*baptism of repentance.*'

Again, part of the secret hidden behind the number *153* of the fish is explained by S. Augustine (*Tract.* 123 *in Joann. Ev.*) on Pythagorean principles. Indeed, again according to Philo (vol. i., p. 10, Mangey), the 'fulfilment' of any potentiality, say 3, is $1+2+3=6$; the 'fulfilment' of 4, the famous tetraktys, is $1+2+3+4=10$, etc.[2] Consequently the 'fulfilment' of 17 is $1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+9+10+11+12+13+14+15+16+17=153$; now, as Augustine has well pointed out, 'ten' is with Philo the number of the decalogue, while 'seven' represents, according to *Rev.* 1_4, 3_1, the Holy Spirit. Thus 'seventeen' symbolises the 'fulfilment' of the 'law' by the superaddition of 'grace,' the charismatic gift of the Spirit, which descends upon man in the Christian baptism, and 'one hundred and fifty-three' is again the 'fulfilment' of this most holy and most significant number 'seventeen.'[3]

[1] It is quite possible that the immersion of Peter comes from the lost conclusion of *Mark*, for a comparative study of the different mythic traditions about the recovery of the golden ring or cup will easily convince the reader that the figure of a legendary *diver*—cp. *e.g.* the famous 'Delian diver' with the 'Delian fisher,' mentioned below pp. 123f, or Dionysos Dyalos with Dionysos Halieus—occurs as a regular double of the fortunate 'fisher,' and because 'Mark' may have had the same theological interest in a 'baptism' of Peter as the *continuator* of 'John.' In this case even the Philonian number of the 200 cubits may be taken from the Markan version. For as Abbot (*l.c.* 1797_2) has acutely noticed, the mystic two hundred occurs also in *John* 6_7 (two hundred shillingsworth of bread), and there the symbolism—as though meaning "not all the *repentance* in the world would suffice to *buy* the divine food, it must be received as the *free gift* of God"—is certainly derived from *Mark* (6_{37}), that is from a chapter which contains in vv. 41-44 (cp. 8_{19-21}) a very obscure arithmetical riddle. Finally, if the 200 are from *Mark*, the 153 fishes will also be his property. The number must then have been *omitted on purpose* in *Luke* 5_6, and it does not seem wholly improbable that the numerical mysticism in this pericopē of *Mark* should have caused its early suppression.

[2] The Pythagoreans call such numbers triangular, because they may be illustrated by such figures as ∴ ∴∴, etc. 666 in *Rev.*, for instance, is the 'triangle' of 36.

[3] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* iii. col. 51.

But there is something still more deeply symbolic concealed behind these 153 fishes. As I have pointed out above (pp. 111f.), the 'fisher' is able to draw his netful of converts to the shore, only after he himself has undergone the regenerating immersion and the immortalising clothing with the Spirit in baptism; that is, only he who has become a 'fish' through putting on as a garment the great 'Fish' Jesus Christ in the baptismal waters (cp. pp. 73f. above), can duly accomplish the mystic task of 'fishing men' and of leading his captives to that shore where the Messianic meal of the 'roasted fish' is waiting for them. Now, strange as it may appear to the 'uninitiated,' even this will be found expressed by the number 153 for him "that hath understanding"; for the '*psēphos*' of the fisherman's name 'Simon' (ΣΙΜΩΝ=18+9+12+24+13=*76*[1]), if added to that of the Greek word for the sacred Fish (ΙΧΘΥΣ=9+22+8+20+18=*77*—the reader will not overlook the peculiarity of this latter number), gives exactly the required sum *153* of the fish caught in Peter's net.[2]

[1] The reader will remember that this number 76 had a great *astrological importance* for the Hellenistic world, since the '*hendekaëteris*,' the luni-solar period of *nineteen* years of the Metonian calendar, had been superseded by the Calippian cycle of *seventy-six* (4×19) years, the so-called '*hekkaihebdomēkontaëtēris*.' But the most striking and certainly not entirely fortuitous coincidence is, that the name Simōn—the classic form which although less accurately transliterating the Hebrew than Symeōn (thus *Acts* 15₁₄, *2 Peter* 1₁), is regularly used in the New Testament—proves to be an '*isopsēphon*' or numerical equivalent of Ōannēs (ΩΑΝΝΗΣ=24+1+18+18+7+18=*76*), the Bērōssian Greek spelling for the *Babylonian fish- and fisher-god Ḫani* (cp. pp. 43f. above). The importance of this fact will be discussed in a following chapter.

[2] In *John* 21 as elsewhere Simon is also called by his 'honorific' name 'Petros' (='Rock,' Aram. *Kēphā*), the bestowing of which on that anything but rock-like disciple of Jesus "is still an enigma"—to quote *e.g.* the words of Johannes Weiss. May it not throw new light on this name if we see that it is an '*isopsēphon*' of the Greek word for 'net' (ΠΕΤΡΟΣ=16+5+19+17+15+18=90=4+9+10+19+20+15+13=ΔΙΚΤΥΟΝ)? That would mean that not only Jesus (p. 73 above), but also Shimeōn was somehow identified with the Divine Word as the mystic '*net*' in the Early Church. Of course 'Petros' is only a translation of Kēphā. But the Aramaic form is beyond

After all this various evidence of the allegorical or, as we might even say, kabbalistic character of the whole narrative, the reader will no longer wonder, with some short-sighted commentators, why in *John* 21_{10}, Jesus bids the disciples bring some of the fish they have caught, and yet they are all subsequently fed upon the one single fish which they already find on the coal-fire when they come ashore; for the writer could certainly not have intended by his veiled symbolism to suggest such nonsense as that the newly-caught 'fish' —*sc.* the 'neophytes'—were devoured by the Apostolic 'fishermen.' On the contrary, nothing could be more plausible than to suppose that he wishes to show how 'some' of the symbolically captured—namely the fully-initiated and proved converts—are allowed to witness and even to partake of the sacred communion in the flesh of the one redeeming 'Fish,' a conclusion which indicates that the author connected the fishing symbol on the one hand with the baptismal and on the other

doubt also a number-symbol (כיפא=1+80+10+20=*111*), just as בנרגש, plural Banē r'ges, the much-disputed artificial surname 'son of thunder' borne by James as well as John, the Zebedaids (*Mark* 3_{17}), yields the same sum of 300+3+200+50+2=*555* as the Messianic name 'Josuah ben Nun' (יהושוע בן נון = 50+6+50+50+2+70+6+300+6+5+10), while Jesus (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ), 'the name above all names' (*Phil.* 2_9), an artificial and irregular Greek transliteration of *Josuah*, gives *888* in the Milesian system (cp. the *666* of the Beast in *Rev.* 13_{18}). On the other hand the equally unexplained assuming of the name 'Paul' by the Jew Saul of Tarsus will be easily understood if we remember that the name Saul is numerically insignificant, while ΠΑΥΛΟΣ (=16+1+20+11+15+18=*81*=9×9), besides yielding a 'square' number, is an '*isopsēphon*' of 'Messias' (ΜΕΣΣΙΑΣ=12+5+18+18+9+1+18=*81*). Thus it becomes evident that Saul has literally 'christianised,' or so to say 'messianised,' his name by the change of the initial letter. With the title 'Petros,' symbolising numerically the 'net' (*diktyon*) of the fisher, we may compare the name of 'Linos,' whom Peter is said to have constituted as the first Bishop of Rome, and whose name, besides being a personal form for '*linón*'='fish-yarn,' and also the well-known name of Orpheus' grandfather, the lyre-player and prophet, is again a numerical symbol (ΛΙΝΟΣ=11+9+13+15+18=*66*). The custom of building up or selecting numerically significant names is beyond doubt an Orphic or Pythagorean practice. Cp. on Pythagoras=*99*, or in another system *1111*, on Persinos=*111*, on Brontinos=121=11×11, on Onomakritos=144=12×12, etc., the present writer's book *Weltenmantel*, etc., p. 684.

with the eucharistic rite, just as the perhaps exactly contemporary pictographic scheme in the catacombs of S. Callisto has been shown to do on pp. 66f. and 78.

As to the outline of this Pseudo-Johannine version of the 'miraculous draught' story, it is of course—apart from the already explained minor differences—about the same as that of *Luke* 5_{1-11}, and may accordingly have been derived either through the intermediary of the third gospel (cp. p. 111 n. 1 above), or through the now lost conclusion of *Mark*, or through *The Gospel of Peter* from the above described group of Pagan fish- and fisher-myths. The most convincing evidence for the accuracy of this hypothesis will be found in the fact that not only the motive of the miraculously rich haul itself, but also the importance of a certain mystic number of the fish caught, can be traced in one of these Pagan parallels.

Indeed both the extant lives of Pythagoras, that of Porphyry (25) as well as that of Jamblichus (viii. 36f.), contain a significant story,—derived through Nikomachos of Gerasa (1st/2nd century A.D.) from a lost biography of Pythagoras by Apollonius of Tyana (1st century A.D.),[2] the influence of which on *John* 21 is too obvious any longer to be disregarded. According to this Pythagorean or, as may equally well be said (pp. 11f. above), Orphic tradition, the mythic prophet, whose previous incarnations as 'Euphorbos,' or 'Good Shepherd,' and as 'Delian Fisher,' correspond exactly with Peter the fisher and the shepherd of God's lambs in *John* $21_{3, 15}$, once met on a journey between Syracuse and Kroton a band of fishermen dragging a heavy-laden

[1] See also Plutarch, *Quaest. Conv.* VIII. 8, III_4 and *De Cap. ex. Inimic. Utilit.*, 9.

[2] Cp. Erw. Rohde, *Minor Works*, p. 131; and p. 112 on the fact, that after Apollonius' biography nobody ventured to add any important new detail to the saga.

net ashore. By means of his miraculous wisdom the sage is able to foretell the precise *number* of fish that will be found in the net. As his prophecy proves true to the letter, and as no fish dies during the counting as long as Pythagoras is present, the fishermen recognise him as a superhuman being, and willingly obey when he bids them accept from him the price of the catch, and cast all the fish again into the sea.[1]

The ætiological character of this legend is perfectly transparent. For the Orphic and Pythagorean brotherhood fish or at least certain species of fish were *taboo*. To explain the origin of this totemistic prohibition the story of Pythagoras and the fishermen was invented, just as in India, where fish-eating is severely forbidden by the Laws of Manu, we find a close parallel in the older, so-called 'B,' version of the *Bṛhaddevatā*, vi. 88-90. The passage in question comments upon a certain prayer to the Ādityas in the *Ṛgveda* viii. 67, which was composed, according to the Anukramaṇī, either by Matsya (='Fish') Sāmmada, the 'Great Fish,' or the 'King of the Great Fishes,' or by 'many fishes caught in a net,'[2] and relates how certain fishermen saw these fish in the water, caught them with a net and hauled them on to dry land. Thereon the

[1] As far as I can see, this Pythagorean legend has first been compared with *John* 21 by Dr. Wolfgang Schultz, *Altjon. Mystik*, Vienna and Leipzig, 1907, pp. 96f. I do not wish, however, to endorse any of the rash and unfounded conclusions which have been drawn by this sagacious yet somewhat fanciful author from the close affinity of the two sagas. For neither can I believe that Pythagoras was ever or anywhere considered as a 'Messias,' nor do I see the slightest reason for assuming that there was ever an 'original version' of the story, where the presumed 'Messias' Pythagoras *liberated* the caught 'fishes'—according to Anaximander's anthropogenesis (s. above p. 34 n. 1)—from their animal shape, thereby symbolising the emerging of the spiritual man from his bodily coverings. For nothing could be more certain than that, on the contrary, in *John* 21 the symbolic drowning of the body and the subsequent regeneration of the soul is operated by *putting on* the mystic fish (pp. 114 and 119 above), while the Pythagoras legend itself admits of the above fully expounded explanation without introducing any *allegoric* interpretation of the *fishes* at all.

[2] Above p. 48 n. 1.

fish recited this famous hymn to the Ādityas;[1] and instantly these gods appeared, delivered the fish and promised the fishermen as a compensation for their loss perpetual abundance of other food on earth and eternal beatitude in heaven. It goes without saying, that both the Greek as well as the Indian tale belong clearly to the so-called 'grateful animal' type, and are excellent instances for indicating how the first half of all these stories—the liberation of this or that animal by the hero—must have arisen, not from Buddhist loving-kindness to all living creatures, as Benfey supposed, but from the all-pervading totemistic superstitions of primitive mankind.

In the Greek version the hero is of course the fisher-god himself, the 'Dēlios Halieus Pyrrhos,' that is Apollo, as the exclusive owner of the fishing-rights along the coasts of Delos (above p. 30 n. 1), as the 'Pythian speaker' or 'Pythagoras' and as the Delphic incendiary 'Pyrrhos' (p. 12 above). The peculiar 'Orphic' or 'Pythagorean' feature of the legend is the importance attached to the *number* of fish caught. The fact that it is not disclosed to the 'uninitiated' either by Porphyry or by Jamblichus, will not prevent us from guessing it with comparative certainty. For just as the 153 fish in Peter's net have been found foreshadowed by the '*psēphos*,' or 'number,' of the Apostle's mystic designation as 'Simōn,' the newly baptised '*ichthys*' or 'fish,' so nothing can be more probable than that the tradition about the '*avatār*' or former incarnation of Pythagoras as 'Delios Halieus Pyrrhos' should supply the arithmetical key for the mystic fisher story.

[1] The characteristic features of the prayer are (v. 8): "May not this yarn fasten us!" and (v. 11): "Save us, O Aditi (=Endlessness), who hast mighty sons (the Ādityas) in the deep and in the shallow water, from him who wishes to kill us; may our posterity not be harmed by any!" etc.

Indeed the three above-quoted Greek epithets are beyond doubt numerical symbols. 'Delios' (ΔΗΛΙΟΣ =4+7+11+9+15+18) and 'Halieus' (ΑΛΙΕΥΣ=1+11+9+5+20+18) both yield the mystic sum of *64*, which is 'square' (8×8)—square numbers are the most powerful, according to Censorinus[1]—and 'cubic' (4×4×4) at the same time, and is moreover composed of a series of the first impair or uneven and therefore lucky numbers (1+3+5+7+9+11+13+15).[2] 'Delios'+'Halieus' is consequently 128, the seventh power of the Dyad (2×2×2×2×2×2×2), and moreover the '*psēphos*' of two other mystic terms of Pythagoras, namely of '*autos theios*' (ΑΥΤΟΣ ΘΕΙΟΣ=1+20+19+15+18+8+5+9+15+18=128), "he himself a god," and of '*tetraktys*'[3] (ΤΕΤΡΑΚΤΥΣ=19+5+19+17+1+10+19+20+18=128), the great Delphic mystery of Pythagorism. If the third name 'Pyrrhos' (ΠΥΡΡΟΣ =16+20+17+17+15+18=103) is added to the already analysed group of letters, the total sum is 128+103=231. Now this apparently harmless number is in reality an *exact counterpart to the 153* in *John* 21. Like the last mystic sum it is a Pythagorean 'triangle,' namely, the total sum or 'fulfilment' of the numeral series from 1 to 21,—that is 1+2+3+4+5+6+7+8+9+10+11+12+13+14+15+16+17+18+19+20+21 =*231*. Again 21 is the product of the most sacred numbers 3 and 7, just as 17, the basis of the 'fulfilment' 153, is the sum of the sacred 10 and the not less powerful 7. May we not then safely assume under these circumstances, that 231 fish, corresponding with

[1] *De Die Natali* 14. [2] On all these peculiarities of the number 64 s. Philo, *Quæst. in Gen.* i. 91. [3] Pythagoras was himself identified with the 'Tetraktys,' or 'Great Four,' because his name gives, after a special system, which has also been re-discovered by Dr. Schultz, *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Philos.* xxi. p. 248ff., the mystic sum of 1111 (cp. p. 120 n. above).

the 'name' and 'number' of the 'Delian Halieus Pyrrhos,' were taken and counted in his presence, just as Pythagoras, who could remember all his previous incarnations, had predicted it to the Sicilian fishermen?

And if this reconstruction of the numeric symbolism in the Pythagoras saga is correct, can we overlook for a moment the strict analogy between the '*gematria*' in *John* 21 and this Pagan parallel? But even if the sceptic should be unwilling to admit so much, the influence of the Pythagorean legend on *John* 21, and perhaps already on the lost Marcan conclusion, cannot reasonably be questioned. For it is quite unlikely that the Christian author would have mentioned a precise number of fish at the end of his narrative, had he not known the Pagan version in which the prophet had *foretold* the exact total at the very outset of the net-fishing, all the more as the fulfilment of such an arithmetical prophecy is a far more impressive wonder than the very ordinary occurrence of a rich haul after a period of unfruitful toiling as related in *Luke*. Indeed, no folklorist, accustomed to compare the different versions of one and the same popular tale, will venture to deny that the fish narrative, which contains the numeric prophecy without giving the mystic number, the second, which gives the number of fish in the catch but omits the prophecy, and the third, which suppresses both corresponding details, are but regular and easily explicable variants of one original plot. Most probably the lost conclusion of *Mark* was directly dependent on the alleged Pythagoras saga, and it was because of this too obviously Paganist detail that it was cut off from the rest of the gospel at a very early date; *Luke* must have known this version, but did not find it necessary to omit more than the characteristic Pythagorean

number-symbol. The attitude of the Egyptian *Gospel of Peter* towards the lost Marcan source is unfortunately no longer to be determined. But it is easy to see why an enthusiastic reader and defender of the fourth gospel (cp. $21_{27f.}$), which is as a whole permeated with a symbolism of the same abstruse kind, should have regretted the condemnation of *Mark* [17] and appended a somewhat modernised edition of it (cp. p. 111 above), at the end of the 'pneumatic' evangel.

Thus the final result of our minute analysis of early extant texts containing the Christian fish- and fisher-symbolism seems to correspond in a most tempting way to the conclusions which had been arrived at by the previous study of archæological evidence in chh. viii. and ix. The parable of the draw-net in *Matt.* 13_{47} and the conclusion of the otherwise lost sermon to the Galilean fishermen, the 'calling' of Peter, Andrew and the sons of Zebedee, in *Mark* 1_7=*Matt.* 4_{18}, *are genuine sayings of Jesus.* But in these the fishing of men symbol is nothing but a transparent Messianic metaphor, taken from the Old Testament, devoid of any mystic meaning, and *in no way connected with the idea of a spiritual rebirth or with the rite of baptism,* the latter indeed having never been administered by the Lord himself. The remaining three texts, on the contrary, without exception presuppose *Christian proselytism among the 'Gentiles,'* and are consequently the likeliest already to show the first distinctive traces of that retroactive influence of Hellenistic paganism, which was to play such an important part in the early development of the new, originally Jewish, sect. In fact, just as the fisher-glyph has been found side by side with a pictogram illustrating the Orphic formula "As a kid have I encountered the milk," in the Domi-

tilla catacomb, and coupled with the image of the lyre-playing Orpheus on the 'Firmus' sarcophagus from Ostia, so the New Testament legends about the miraculous draughts of Peter—*Luke* 5_{1-11}, *John* 21_{1-14}—can be shown to be closely related to typical fisher tales of Pythagorean or Orphic origin.

Yet it would be unsafe to conclude from this observation—which indicates an intimate acquaintance of the Gentile Christians with Orphism even in the first century of the Church—that the whole characteristic blending of the mystic fishing symbolism with the conception of a spiritual rebirth in the Christian baptism is due exclusively to the '*syncretistic*' theology of the '*ecclesia ex gentibus.*'

F. C. Conybeare has shown that we cannot speak of the 'institution' of a Christian baptism *sui generis* by Jesus, since the original text of *Matt.* 28_{19} contained only the words, "Go ye therefor and teach all nations in my name," without the manifestly late Trinitarian formula, "baptising them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."[1]

Thus baptism, as performed in the earliest Christian Church, may have originated and developed independently of any teaching of Jesus, *either* from a kindred *Pagan* rite *or*, more probably, *from the only two Jewish antecedents* we know of: *viz.* the Rabbinic '*baptism of the Proselytes*,' and John the so-called Forerunner's '*baptism of repentance.*' Consequently, before we can venture to attribute any such marked feature as the fish-symbolism in the Christian initiatory ceremonial to the influence of a Hellenistic Mystery-cult,

[1] *Zeitschrift f. neutestam. Wissensch.* 1901, p. 275ff. From the gloss in *Jn.* 4_2 'Jesus himself baptised not, but his disciples' and from Tertullian, *de Bapt.* ch. 11, we can see that there was a party in the church, who neglected baptism, as alien to Jesus' own teaching.

we are bound to investigate as carefully as possible the whole range of thought underlying these Jewish prototypes of the Christian baptism, in order to see whether the idea cannot be derived from the Palestinian *milieu* of the first, so-called 'apostolic' generation of adherents to the new Messianic creed.

XV.

THE FORERUNNER OF THE CHRIST.

THE whole of our knowledge concerning the life and ministry of John the Baptist is derived in the first place from a few rather insignificant lines in Josephus (*Antiqq.* xviii. 5_2),[1] and secondly from the traditions incorporated into the gospels. The latter are all the more valuable because they contain fragments of John's preaching, which are probably copied from some loose leaf circulating among the disciples of the Baptist. Yet in dealing with our Christian sources we must not allow ourselves to be influenced by the specifically 'Christian' and therefore necessarily anachronistic view, that John was a 'forerunner' of Jesus or even (as the fourth Evangelist puts it) a witness of the Nazarene prophet's Messianic vocation. For though it is manifest that the son of Zachariah the priest came forward to prepare the way for a mightier one coming after him, who certainly was meant to be the expected Messiah of the Jews, it by no means

[1] "Joannes, surnamed the Baptist, was a good man, and commanded the Jews to practise virtue, both as to *justice towards one another and piety towards God*, and so *to assemble for a general [ritual] bathing;* for this washing would be acceptable to God if they made use of it, not in order to obtain the remission of single infringements [of the law], but for the purification of the body, provided that the soul was thoroughly purified beforehand by righteousness."

follows that his own ministry had anything whatever to do with the entirely different one of Jesus and his apostles. It is not the traditional retrospect of the movement started by the Baptist, but only a prospect into the, at that time, still vague and undecided future of the Jewish nation, that will enable us to understand the individual life and aims of the last shining light of Old Testament prophecy.

The history of John's infancy in the third gospel is generally admitted to be a pious legend artificially composed to suit a series of parallel motives in the Old Testament birth-stories of Isaak, Samson and Samuel. The name of the father may have been faithfully handed down to us owing to a custom of using the patronymic 'bar Zachariah' for the Baptist; less reliable—but in any case historically unimportant—is the tradition as to the mother's name Elisheba; for (as Holtzmann has suggested) it might be somewhat more than a coincidence that the two heroines of this 'gospel of infancy,' Miriam and Elisheba, bear the names of Aaron's sister and wife. The priestly descent of John seems trustworthy, although Brandt has lately questioned it on the ground that official observance considered the water of the Jordan, which the Baptist used for his rite, as unfit for purification.

This argument will not stand, however, because the choice of the Jordan-water is most probably determined by the influence of Ezekiel's prophecy (47_{1-8}) of the spring that shall gush forth in the Messianic future from under the threshold of the sanctuary, and shall run down to the 'Arabah' (the 'desert' valley of the lower Jordan) in order to 'heal' its waters as well as those of the Dead Sea. As it is an acknowledged fact, that the main idea of John's baptism was evolved from

two predictions of Ezekiel (36_{25-28}[1]) and Zachariah (13_{1}[2]), there is no difficulty in assuming that the Baptist, who firmly believed in the completion of the times (*Matt.* 3_{2}), identified the Messianic and purifying fountain of Zachariah with Ezekiel's spring flowing down into the valley of the Jordan[3] and turning its slow brackish stream into a river of living water.

In any case, whether John was a priest by birthright or not, nobody can fail to perceive that he was deeply imbued with a knowledge of the scriptures and derived the inspiration for his whole life and ministry almost exclusively from the study of the Old Testament.

To begin with his peculiar dress: like the prophets of old and more especially like the expected renewer of the world, Elias, he wore garments of skin. Yet his intention was probably not that of by such cheap means posing as an inspired prophet of God, after the manner of the vain impostors whom we find ridiculed by Zechariah (13_{4}[4]). On the contrary, both the skin cloak of the old Israelitish prophets and that of John must be understood with regard to the ancient mythic tradition (*Gen.* 3_{21}), that Jahvè clothed the first human pair *after their fall* in *coats of skin* (*'ōr*), according to

[1] "Then will I sprinkle clean water upon you and ye shall be clean: from all your filthiness and from all your idols will I cleanse you. A new heart also will I give you and a new spirit will I put within you. . . . Ye shall keep my judgments and do them. . . . Ye shall be my people and I will be your God."

[2] "In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for (removing) sin and uncleanness."

[3] When the fourth gospel gives the names of the places where John baptised, as '*Aenon Salim*' (= 'Strong Fountain of Salvation') and '*Beth Arabah*,' it surely means to hint at these two prophecies of the Messianic *spring* and the water flowing down to the *Arabah*. Similarly the so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* ($11_{10f.}$) as well as the commentaries of Theodoret (*Patrol. Graeca* lxxxi., col. 1244B) and Jerome (*Patrol. Lat.* xxv., col. 472; cp. also Epistle lxix. to Oceanus) explain the mystic stream of Ezekiel (47_{1-12}) as a symbol of the baptismal waters. All this is almost certainly taken over from the original tradition of the Baptist's school.

[4] "The prophets shall be ashamed everyone of his vision . . . neither shall they wear a rough garment to deceive."

a Rabbinic legend,[1] in exchange for their lost garments of light (*'ōr*). Consequently the rough garb of hairy skins must have appeared to the meditative expositors of that naïve *haggādah* as the providentially ordained *clothing of penitent sinners*,[2] and therefore also of such leaders as would give their people the example of repentance.

Just as the Baptist found the reason for his peculiar dress in the biblical Paradise legends, his peculiar diet seems equally to be determined by the 'law concerning food,' first laid down for primeval man (*Gen.* $1_{29ff.}$[3]). Only after the deluge had God allowed his creatures, in the so-called Noahic covenant, the use of animal food, apparently out of concession to the greed and voracity of a weaker generation. Accordingly a man who refused to profit by this later indulgence, would feel sure of acquiring special merit in the eyes of Jahvè. Moved by such considerations, then, most probably, the Baptist abstained from eating any animal whatever, and lived, according to a rigorous interpretation of the scriptures, on the seed-filled fruit of the carob or locust-tree (*ceratonia siliqua*), which the Jews

[1] *Bereshith Rabba*, § 20. Cp. *The Sohar* ii. 229 b. See also the newly-discovered *Odes of Solomon* (25$_8$): "I am covered with the robe of the spirit and He has *taken off from me the garments of skin.*"

[2] The best proof of this view will be found in the tradition that Banus, the anchoret, with whom Josephus (*Vita*, ch. 2) says he lived a hermit's life in the desert for three years, wore *garments made of the bast of trees.* Now since we read in the Syriac *Cave of Treasures* (Bezold, p. 7), that such clothes were softer than the silk or linen garments of kings, we shall scarcely believe that a bast dress was worn for the purpose of physical mortification. The solution is offered by a passage in the *Book of the Bee*, by Solomon of Basra (Budge, p. 24), which proves that certain Rabbis shrank from the conclusion that God cruelly slaughtered some of the newly-created animals for the sake of their skins; the word *'ōr* was therefore explained to mean the bast or inner bark of trees, "*because it serves as a skin to the trees.*" Thus Banus, too, chose his clothing with regard to *Gen.* 3_{21}.

[3] "Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed which is upon the face of the earth, and every tree on which is the *fruit of a tree yielding seed*; to you shall it be for meat: and it was so."

considered, on account of a prophecy in Isaiah (1_{20}[1]), as the food of repentance *par excellence*. It was these same carob-pods to which also the prodigal son is forced to descend in his deepest degradation.[2]

As to his drink, it goes without saying that he usually quenched his thirst with water. If he also drank the honey of the wild bees (*Mk.* 1_7, *Matt.* 3_5), he probably followed *Deut.* 32_2 and *Ps.* 81_{17}, where it is said that God makes Israel suck honey out of the clefts in the rocks. Thus the Johannine diet must not be considered as the ascetic caprice of a penitent, who simply chose locusts out of the many possible varieties of contemptible food, but as an outcome of the severest possible, if we may say so ultra-pharisaic, interpretation of the scriptures. A valuable confirmation of this theory will be found in the message of the angel to Zachariah (*Lk.* 1_{15}), which prophesies—of course *ex eventu*—that John was to be a Nazirite. For most probably the old taboo (*Num.* 6_6), that a Nazirite was not to come into contact with any 'dead being' (*nefeš meth*), was understood by a later age as referring also to slaughtered animals,—an extended interpretation that was practically equivalent to a prescription of a vegetarian life for the 'consecrated' devotees. In fact Graetz[3] long ago conjectured that the notorious abstinence from meat and wine practised by the Essene

[1] "If ye be willing and obedient, the good of the land shall ye eat; but if ye refuse and resist, carob-pods shall ye eat"—thus quoted in the Midrash *Wajikra Rabba*, 35, in support of the familiar Jewish proverb: "Israel needs carob-pods to make him repent."

[2] The oriental Christians have never forgotten that John observed a strict vegetarian diet. Therefore the Ebionite Gospel reads *enkrides* (= 'oil-cakes') instead of *akrides* (= 'locusts'). Others preferred *achrades*, wild growing wheat (*Acta SS. Jun.* iv. 692); the Æthiopian version has 'tops of vegetables'; the Monophysite '*revelation on the locusts of John*,' the 'roots of certain desert plants'; the Slavic Josephus, 'reeds, roots and wood shavings,' 'no wine, *no animal*, no bread.' The real philological solution of the puzzle is due to T. K. Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* 213.

[3] *Geschichte d. Juden*, vol. iii., p. 658.

order and later kindred sects—Ebionites, Monophysites, etc.—was theoretically based on some such expansion of the Nazirite rule.

However this may have been, it is obvious that the Nazirite's vow of the Baptist had strongly contributed to the rise of the popular opinion, that John was a Messianic character of some description or other; for it is well known that the prophecy about the 'sprout' (*neṣer*) from the root of Jesse (*Is.* 11$_{16}$), the longed-for 'saviour' (*neṣer*, Gk. *sōtēr*) of Israel, was mystically interpreted by some as referring to a born Nazarene (*noṣerī*, Gk. *nazōraios* = *Matt.* 2$_{23}$). Others deduced from the same passage, that the Messiah was to be a carpenter (Ar. *bar nasar;* cp. Jesus as the *tektōn* in *Mk.* 6$_{3}$), that is a second Noah, sawing the timber for a new ark of salvation.[1] Still others that he was to be a Nazirite, as Samson the redeemer of Israel from the yoke of the Philistines had been.[2] Such people will of course have been much impressed by the fact, that the prophet who announced the imminent approach of God's kingdom (*Matt.* 3$_{3}$) and, in a covert way, also (*Matt.* 3$_{10}$) the coming of the Messianic 'carpenter' whose axe was already laid unto the root

[1] The belief that a second Noah was to save the righteous of Israel through another deluge is well illustrated by a newly-discovered Samaritan Midrash (below ch. xvii.) and by the words: "As it was in the days of Noe, so shall it be also in the days of the Son of Man; they did eat, they drank, until the day that Noe entered the Ark and the flood came and destroyed them all," in the 'Little Apocalypse' (*Matt.* 24$_{37}$, *Lk.* 17$_{26}$). As to Noah the carpenter, cp. with *Gen.* 6$_{14, 22}$, Baidawi's commentary to Surah xi. 40 of the *Koran*, where a graphic description will be found of Noe preaching repentance to his wicked generation without any success, until God orders him to build the ark. Then the people mock at him for *suddenly turning carpenter from prophet.*

[2] In *Mk.* 1$_{24}$, *Lk.* 4$_{31}$, *Jn.* 6$_{69}$, Jesus is in fact called 'the holy (or consecrated one) of God.' This, however, is the technical term for 'Nazirite,' as applied, *e.g.*, to Samson in the Greek version of *Judges* 13$_{7}$, 16$_{17}$. On the other hand, the Pharisees argue against the Messianity of Jesus (in *Matt.* 11$_{19}$, *Lk.* 7$_{34}$) from the fact that he is 'gluttonous and a wine-bibber,' which means the contrary of a 'consecrated one of God,' of a Nazirite. Besides, it *could* be deduced from *Gen.* 9$_{3}$ and $_{21}$, that *Noah did not touch meat or wine till after the deluge.*

of the trees, lived himself the ascetic life, by which the 'consecrated one of God' was to prepare for his divine mission. To them the Pharisees addressed their contemptuous argument (*Matt.* 11$_{19}$) against the Baptist, that his abstention from wine and meat was not due to a vow of consecration, but to his being possessed by a devil—of course one that abhorred strong drink and animal food—in fact, just as if a modern sceptic were to say: "Let him alone, he is a hysteriac, and not an ascetic." Thus we can easily understand, that when the Baptist came forward he was, on account of his garb of repentance, taken by the people for Malachi's Elias *redivivus* or, more vaguely, for the prophet foretold in *Deut.* 18$_{15}$ (*Matt.* 21$_{26}$), and, because of his Nazirite and penitent's diet for the expected 'holy one of God,' for the great Nazir-Neser, the Saviour of the Last Days (*Jn.* 1$_{19ff.}$). That he himself anxiously avoided any confirmation of the concrete hopes attached to his person (*Jn.* 1$_{20-22}$) is too human a feature and too parallel to the analogous attitude of Jesus, for us to attribute it to the well-known anti-baptistic tendency of the fourth gospel. On the contrary, the statement of *Jn.* 1$_{23}$, that the Baptist himself claimed to be "the voice of one crying in the wilderness" (*Is.* 40$_{3}$), is wholly incredible.[1] Thus, summing up our evidence, we see that John did not come forward as a prophet or visionary—profes-

[1] A learned Palestinian Jew would doubtlessly have read in his *Hebrew* Bible: "A voice crieth: *In the wilderness* prepare ye the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert the highway for our God." On the contrary, the erroneous Greek version (based on a defective copy of the original), "The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, Prepare ye, etc." (omitting the parallel "in the desert"), used already by the Synoptics, offered an opportunity to the author of the fourth gospel, who had identified Jesus with the Word, to equate the forerunner with an equally mystic 'Voice' in the wilderness. Last, not least, *Malachi* 3$_{1, 2}$ likens the messenger, who is to prepare the way before God, to *a refiner's fire*, which is to purify the sons of Israel, a figure of speech applied by John not to his own person, but to the mightier one coming after him. The first to identify John himself with that Messianic messenger seems to have been Jesus (*Matt.* 11$_{10}$, *Lk.* 7$_{27}$).

sions that were in fact definitely discredited by the words of Zechariah ($13_{3ff.}$). There is no trace whatever to be found in his remaining words, that he ever claimed to have received an immediate revelation from above or that he ever pretended to work miracles. As far as we can see he merely appears as a 'teacher' (*rabbi*) and expositor of the Law, of course in manifest opposition to the professional doctors, the so-called 'scribes.'

In order to estimate the historical importance of this inspired leader we shall certainly not start from the rather condescending judgment of Josephus, who calls him "a good man." What we must try to explain from our sources is, on the contrary, the fact that Jesus could have called him "the greatest [prophet] among those that are born of women" (*Matt.* 11_{11}, *Lk.* 7_{28}), most probably even without adding the subsequent rather inconsequent restriction, "but he that is least in the kingdom of God[1] is greater than he." At first sight nothing in the ethical teachings of the Baptist seems to justify such a superlative estimate. He came, as Jesus says (*Matt.* 21_{32}), "in the way of *righteousness*," or, as Josephus has it, "he taught the Jews to practise virtue both as to *justice* towards one another and piety to God." This means, that his ideal was the old Jewish *ṣedākah*, the legal principle of justice, a religious *suum cuique* involving faithfulness to our duties

[1] Manifestly those 'in the kingdom of God' are contrasted here with the others "that are born of *women*." This is equivalent to the theory of the Christian neophyte's 'rebirth from above,' through which he is initiated into the 'kingdom of God.' This is certainly—as Dr. Martin Dibelius has acutely observed—not the language of Jesus, but that of the Church. The intention is to emphasise the superiority of Christendom, be it in its humblest disciple, even to the greatest prophets of Old Testament Judaism; the Church has the immediate knowledge (*gnōsis*) of that Christ, who is foretold only more or less clearly by the prophets. The words were added in order to refute those disciples of the Baptist (cp. *Clem. Recogn.* i. 60; Ephraem Syr. *Ev. Expos.*, ed. Moesinger, p. 288) who placed John above Jesus on the latter's own testimony, which of course they must have known in its original unrestricted form.

both towards God and our fellow-men. Single examples of his moral teachings are given by *Lk.* 3$_{10ff.}$, beyond doubt from good tradition. The publicans shall exact no more than that which is due to them; the soldiers shall be content with their wages and not abuse their function as police by doing violence to people or bringing false denunciations against them;[1] whoever has the least superabundance of clothing[2] or meat, shall give of it to his brother in need. These plain, nay trivial, exhortations show that John was untouched by those latest Jewish ideals, such as man's forgiveness of his neighbour, the influence of which is so manifest in the teaching of Jesus himself; in fact by that new ethic of love propagated throughout the Christian world by the Sermon on the Mount, but taught as well by the Jewish sage of the second century B.C. who wrote *The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs*[3]; neither did he dream of the redeeming 'antinomistic' ideas liberating man from the heavy yoke of the petrified Jewish ceremonial legalism, which inspire the opposition of the Jewish 'Haggadists' against the doctrinaire teachers of the Law[4] and underlie so many sayings of the Galilean teacher.

What then could have induced Jesus to place John above the greatest teachers and reformers of old Israel, above *e.g.* an Isaiah or Jeremiah? Can it be the institution—if institution there was—of the new peculiar purificatory rite, known to a later age (*Acts* 18$_{25}$, 19$_{3}$) as the 'baptism of John' or 'baptism of repentance,' or rather the new spiritual meaning he must have given to this ceremony in his teaching?

[1] Cp. *Is.* 33$_{15ff.}$ [2] Cp. with *Lk.* 7$_{11}$, *Is.* 36, 7. [3] Cp. R. H. Charles in the *Transactions of the IIIrd Intern. Congress for the History of Religions*, i. 310. [4] S. Joel, *Blicke in die Religionsgeschichte*, Breslau, 1888, i. p. 28, on Philo's criticism of antinomistic allegorism, and A. Horodezky, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* xv. pp. 111ff.

XVI.

MICAH VII.14,20 AND THE PREACHING OF THE BAPTIST.

It is obvious that for an answer to these questions we shall have to turn to the few extant remains of the single but doubtlessly genuine sermon of the Baptist. What has been handed down to us of this utterance seems at first sight to be entirely devoid of unity.[1] I believe, however, that this appearance is mainly due to an early transposition of one sentence which can be restored quite easily to the right place, after the break of thought occasioned by this accident of tradition has once been noticed. The correct sequence of verses seems to be the following:[2]

7 O generation of vipers, who [of the prophets] has shown you escape[3] from the wrath to come?

[1] This is *e.g.* T. K. Cheyne's judgment (*Enc. Bibl.* 2500).

[2] The parentheses in square brackets are meant to supply, by way of commentary, the connecting thoughts that may be read between the lines of this very laconic sermon itself, and thus to prove its coherence.

[3] The traditional text "warned you to flee from the wrath to come" is certainly in itself a plausible translation of the Greek. Still the *hypo* in the verb *can* mean to show *surreptitiously* an escape; it need not, however, necessarily convey any other sense than merely that of 'pointing out,' 'teaching' (= *sub*mitting to one's attention) a possibility of escape. A physical flight from the hand of the Almighty has never seemed practicable to the Jewish mind as is proved by the story of Jonah (13ff.). Thus John can only be understood to denounce as vain certain ritual outward ways of atoning for sins, such as *e.g.* mere ceremonial washings. The Jews are confident of having in the Law, revealed to them as the descendants of Abraham, sure means of expiating any failure. It may have been this faith in the official methods of atonement that the Baptist wished to shake by his terrible words. Still, we must not forget that the Greek version may not render quite accurately the original sense of the lost Aramean sermon. Perhaps John meant to say: "Who foretold to you that you would escape (= be safe) from the wrath to come?"—intending thereby to shake the self-righteous super-

9 Think not to say within yourselves [we are not descendants of vipers] *we have Abraham for our father* [with whom God has established an eternal covenant]; for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones (Aram. *'ab^e^najja'*[1]) to raise up [other] children (Aram. *b^e^najja'*; note the word-play) unto Abraham [if he choose to destroy you on account of your wickedness]. 2 Repent ye! for the kingdom of heaven is at hand! 10 The axe is already laid unto the root of the trees;[2] every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is [to be] hewn down and cast into the fire.

8 Bring forth therefore fruits meet for repentance.[3] [Here Luke has appropriately inserted the above quoted moral examples.]

11 I indeed sprinkle you with water, but he that cometh after me—he, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear,[4] is mightier than I—he shall cleanse you with wind[5] and with fire; 12 whose winnowing fan is [ready] in his hand, and he will throughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner, but he will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire.[6]

stition of the Jews, that the ultimate judgment would be directed only against the Gentiles, and not against the sons of Abraham (Cp. below p. 183 n. 3 on the belief that the Israelites would be exempt from the final deluge). I have therefore tried to cover both possibilities with my translation.

[1] It has been supposed that John here alludes to the twelve memorial stones of the twelve tribes set up by Joshua (4 20) on the bank of the Jordan. This can have very well been the opinion of that scribe to whom the reading 'Beth-abarah' in *Jn.* 1 28 is due. If John preached at the 'Place of Crossing' —meaning apparently where the Israelites had passed the boundary river of the Holy Land—he can well have hinted at the alleged monuments of this memorable event. It seems to me, however, that the phrase gains more vigour if any ordinary stones are meant. Cp. *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* xv. 306.

[2] That is, the trees which are to be felled have been already marked with a slight cut of the axe at the roots.

[3] *Matt.* 3 2 has been torn out of its original context, to be prefixed as a kind of general 'motto' to the whole sermon. In its place 3 8 has been substituted; for, of course, this phrase can be understood only *after* the comparison of men with fruit-bearing trees has been brought forward in v. 10.

[4] *Lk.*: "the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to unloose."

[5] '*Pneumati*'; the word '*hagiōi*,' on which the traditional interpretation "with the holy Spirit" rests, is beyond doubt inserted by the Christian redactor of the original source, for according to *Acts* 19 2 ("we have not so much as heard whether there be any holy Ghost") the conception of a holy Spirit was entirely unknown to the school of the Baptist. Besides the beneficent '*charisma*' of the Spirit-baptism cannot have been paralleled in this way with the dreaded judgment by fire. Finally, winnowing is a purgation of corn by means of the wind and not through the help of the holy Ghost.

[6] The agricultural metaphors are transparent allegorical descriptions of the three baptisms mentioned in v. 11. Like the husbandman in *Lk.* 13 8,

The first problem for the expositor of this powerful sermon is the strange rudeness of the orator's address to his audience. The difficulty has been felt by 'Matthew,' who tried to justify it by the supposition that John was apostrophizing 'the Pharisees and Sadducees.' If the common source had contained this detail, Luke would not have omitted it. Besides *Lk.* $7_{29f.}$ proves that the Pharisees precisely did *not* come to John's baptism on the shore of the Jordan; and finally nobody will think it in itself probable that *only* Pharisees and Sadducees composed the casually gathered audience of the Baptist. The true reason for this rebuke, which is certainly unintelligible in its present abruptness, was undoubtedly once to be found in the lost *exordium* of our sermon. Supposing that John drew the inspiration of his harangue, as well as the idea of his whole ministry, from the prophetic writings of the Old Testament, it will not be too difficult to find the one text in the scriptures that can have served as a text (*anagnōsis*) to his sermon about the expiating power of baptism. A prophetic passage in *Micah* 7 allows us to account for nearly every detail in it. The passage runs as follows:

14 Feed thy people with thy rod, the flock of thine inheritance,

John concedes an ultimate respite to the 'barren trees,' that are marked already with the axe for felling, and *waters them through his baptism;* if then they bear fruit, well; if not they will be cut down by God's judgment, by the cleansing of the world through terrible storms (see below pp. 200f.) as they are described in *Isaiah* $2_{12ff.}$: "The Day of the Lord of Hosts shall be upon . . . all the cedars of Lebanon . . . and upon all the oaks of Bashan," etc., "and all the loftiness of man shall be bowed down," etc. Thus the cutting down of the trees symbolises the dreaded baptism with wind, which is to be followed by the burning of the eradicated stems (cp. Syrian *Apocalypse of Baruch*, 37_1) the final 'baptism with fire' of the Day that cometh burning like an oven (*Mal.* 3_{19}). Similarly in v. 12 John's baptism of water stands for the irrigation (*Enc. Bibl.* 79 §5), which is to make the crops grow; the winnowing symbolises the cleansing of the world through the 'wind of judgment' and 'of destruction' (*Isaiah* 4_4; cp. below p. 197), and the burning of the chaff the ultimate refining of humanity by a conflagration of the present world.

dwelling in the solitude in the midst of the gardenland. . .
16 The heathen shall see that and be confounded . . . their
ears will be deaf; 17 they shall lick the dust, *like serpents*, like
those creeping on the earth; they shall move out of their holes
and be afraid of Jahvè our God and shall fear because of thee.
18 Who is a God like unto thee, that *pardoneth iniquity and passeth
over the transgression of the remnant of his heritage*, that re-
taineth not his anger for ever, because he delighted in mercy?
19 *He will turn again* (*jaschub*), he will have compassion upon us, he
will subdue our iniquities. *Yea, thou wilt wash away* (*thash*^{e}*līḫ*)
all our sins into the depths of the sea. 20 *Thou wilt fulfil the truth
to Jacob, the mercy to Abraham, which thou hast sworn unto our
fathers from the days of old* (cp. *Gen.* 17$_{6-9}$).

There can be no doubt that this passage forms one group with the two above (p. 131) quoted prophecies in Ezekiel and Zechariah, the influence of which on the Baptist's teaching is generally admitted. It is equally calculated to fill the chosen people with confidence in God's ultimate forgiveness of all their sins; at the end of days, say all these prophets, Jahvè will wash away from Israel the filth of its sinfulness and flush it into the sea. Moreover, a peculiar and certainly very primitive rite of expiation, which is practised by the Jewish Church up to the present time, is justified by the Rabbis through these lines in Micah, which are in fact recited during the ceremony in question: On the Jewish New Year's Day old and young congregate on the shore of the nearest river, by preference on a bridge; whenever they catch sight of fish they shake their clothes over them in order that their sins may be carried away by the frightened creatures into the far-off sea.[1] This crude superstition, closely analogous to the

[1] Cp. Buxtorf, *Synagoge Jud.*, ch. xxiv. In most German, Polish or Russian towns this strange ceremony can still be witnessed on every Jewish New Year's Day. Helen Boehlau, a well-known German novelist, has seen it on the bridge over the Ilm at Weimar, and mentions it in her last work *Isebies*. S. also Abrahams, *Festival Studies* (London, 1906), p. 91, and *Jew. Enc.* xii. 66.

rite of the scapegoat that carries the sins of Israel into the desert, or to the loosed bird[1] of *Lev.* 14₇ that bears the leper's disease into the open—cannot be a product of the later, refined and certainly more spiritual Judaism.[2] Supposing, then, that it may have existed as early as in the days of John, and that the crowd which the Baptist happened to address, had gathered on the banks of the Jordan for no other purpose than this *thash*ᵉ*līḫ*, then nothing could be more plausible than that John took the very text of Micah's which was recited on such an occasion, as a welcome starting-point for his sermon on a really effective and spiritual way of atonement.

The first verse of our quotation—very similar as it is to the other watchword "feed my lambs," which is later on given to Peter in *Jn.* 21—may have sounded in the ears of the Baptist as a summons to take up the vacant ministry of a shepherd over Israel,[3] and that all the more because "dwelling in the solitude in the midst of the rich garden land"[4] could seem to allude to his own hermit's life in the desert. From the second line, where Micah compares the stubborn *Gentiles* to *serpents* and threatens them with the dreadful fate of eating excrement,[5] which is allotted to the snake-shaped souls of the damned in Sheōl, John evidently

[1] See *Enc. of Rel. and Eth.* v. 663, *Jew. Enc.* ii. 282 and vii. 435, on the swinging of an expiatory fowl (*Kappōretz*),

[2] It may be derived from Babylonia, since we read in an Assyrian prayer (Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, p. 186, Scheftelowitz, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* xiv. p. 349 n. 2): "*May the fish carry away my pain*, may the river flush it far off."

[3] Old Christian art generally pictures the Baptist with the attribute of a shepherd's rod. Cp. the words of the Baptist in the Mandæan treatise (*Genzā* R. p. 191, Petermann): "I cast men into the Jordan as *sheep* before the *shepherd*."

[4] Heb. *Karmel;* if it is to be taken as a proper name, it will remind us of the famous Carmel, the traditional site of *Elijah's* activity.

[5] HugoW inckler has shown that *this* is the real sense of the Oriental euphemism '*to lick dust*.'

takes the impressive address "generation of vipers," which he draws like a whip-lash across the face of his audience. Only comparison with the prophecy of Micah, which proves that this invective to the Jews is equivalent to arraigning them as heathens damned to perdition, enables us to understand why it should call out the indignant retort: "We have *Abraham* for our father!"

XVII.

THE BAPTISM OF JOHN AND THE RABBINIC BAPTISING OF PROSELYTES.

Both the charge brought against the Jews in these initial words and their reply to it must of course be explained with reference to John's main idea: I mean the conviction underlying his whole mission, that a '*baptism of repentance*' *was necessary for Israel's salvation in the imminent Last Judgment.* To estimate again the religious signification of this peculiar theory, we must remember that according to a Rabbinic observance—the pre-Christian origin of which is no longer questioned nowadays[1]—a Gentile who wished to join the Jewish church in the quality of a 'newcomer' (*advena, proselytēs*), had to submit to a purifying, nay regenerating, bath in the presence of legal witnesses. While the convert stood in the water, his teacher delivered to him a short lecture containing a series of greater and minor commandments from the Law. At the end of this lecture the Gentile pupil dipped his head completely under the water, thereby symbolically drowning his old impure self.[2] After this immersion he rose from under the water reborn as a true Israelite or son of Abraham—a mystic rebirth operated in the same way as in so many Pagan mystery-rites. Indeed it was taken so literally, that after it

[1] Cp. E. Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes i. Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, III[3] 130f.
[2] Cp. *Coloss.* 2 12, "buried . . in baptism."

the 'neophyte,' or 'newly created,' 'new-born babe,' could no longer inherit from his former relatives nor—a still more significant restriction—even commit the crime of incest with one of them.[1] Legally and spiritually this simulated voluntary death of the Gentile had severed all previous bonds of blood; he had sacrificed his old defiled and forfeited life to the wrath of the deity and received a new life through divine grace, evidently according to the promise in *Ezekiel* 36$_{25-28}$ (cp. 11$_{19}$):

> I will sprinkle clean water upon you . . . cleanse you from your filthiness and your idols . . . and *give you a new heart and a new spirit.*

Now it could not have been difficult for a man who knew the scriptures as John did, to see that this passage in Ezekiel, from which the Rabbis derived their theory of the regenerating rite of the *tebilah gerim*, or 'proselytes' baptism,' could only be understood as referring to such Gentiles, if the passage were entirely removed from its context, which clearly refers to the Israelites only. Ezekiel meant certainly to predict the baptism of regeneration first to Israel itself, and that, too, not as a customary rite, to be instituted in the immediate future, but as a unique *miraculous event of the Last Days.*

From this obvious fact the Baptist drew a conclusion, the historical importance of which can hardly be exaggerated: Israel in all its wickedness and corruption had forfeited its natural birthright in the covenant of its righteous ancestor Abraham with God—the promise of Jahvè's special favour and permanent protection; now that generations had filled

[1] *Mishna Jebamoth* XI$_2$. *Jeb. babli*, 62a, *Jeb. jerush.* 4a, etc. Cp. W. Brandt, *Zeitschr. f. alt. test. Wiss.* Beih. xviii. 56-62.

to the brim the measure of idolatry and iniquity, *the Jews were no better than heathen.* If the present generation of Abraham's sons persisted in their evil ways, God would assuredly destroy them without pity; being almighty, he could do that and still "fulfill the truth to Jacob, the mercy to Abraham, which he had sworn in the days of old"; for could he not create—as he was doing continually through the 'baptism of the proselytes,' according to the scribes—a new Israel out of the Gentiles, nay out of inanimate stones, just as he had once hewn, like stones (*'abanim*), a long succession of sons (*bānim*), from the formerly barren rock of Abraham (*Is.* 51₁), the elected foundation stone of the whole world?[1]

Thus physical kinship with the patriarchs could in no way be considered a guarantee against the wrath to come.[2] The only way leading to salvation was to *become* a member of the new spiritually created Israel by submitting to the 'baptism of the Gentiles,' however humiliating that might be to the racial pride of a Jew; thus this older rite became a true 'baptism of repentance.' For what deeper and sincerer consciousness of sin and moral depravity could be imagined than that which brought a proud and self-righteous Jew to the point of considering his old self, drowned through the

[1] Cp. *Jalkut Numeri*, § 766, fol. 243c. Venet. edit.: "Why is Abraham called a rock by the prophet? Because the Holy One (Blessed be He) said of him: I have found a rock thereon to ground and build the world"—a notable prototype of the saying in *Matt.* 61₁₈.

[2] Cp. the saying, "Whoever is not chaste, compassionate and charitable, cannot claim to descend from the seed of Abraham," in the treatise *Jebamōth* vii. fol. 71. According to *Matt.* 12₃₄, 23₃₃, Jesus also used the invective 'generation of vipers,' that means 'heathens,' for those sons of Abraham who failed to do the works of Abraham (*Jn.* 8₃₉). And likewise Mohammed (*Ḳoran*, Sura II. 118f.) makes God say to Abraham: "My covenant does not extend to the wrong-doers among thy progeny."—Cp. also the Rabbinic doctrine, Mishna, *Sanh.* x 1-4, that the sinners in Israel will not share in the blessings of the future world which are promised to the chosen people by God.

voluntary burial of baptism, like that of a mere heathen idolater? Having in this way freed himself through repentance from the bondage of previous sinfulness, he had but to practise righteousness, "both as to justice towards one another and piety towards God," in order to remain what he had become through the 'baptism of repentance'—namely a member of the truly Chosen Nation, the 'people made ready for God' (*Lk.* 1_{17}), that is to say of that righteous 'remnant' of Israel, to whom the prophets of old had really "foretold escape from the wrath to come."

XVIII.

THE MESSIANIC SPRING.

It remains to be explained how the Baptist could have come to the belief, that he by his own preaching was to bring about the outburst itself of the longed-for Messianic Fountain, which was to heal the brackish waters of the Arabah and remove sin and uncleanness from the house of David (above, p. 131). God had said through the mouth of His prophet: "*I* will sprinkle you with clean water," etc. Who then could dare to usurp His function and thereby—as Jesus said of the Baptist and his followers—"storm the kingdom of heaven and take it by force like a robber"?[1]

It is one thing to have had the abstract conviction that the Messianic reign was at hand; this could easily be gained from calculations concerning the seventy weeks in *Daniel* 9_{24}, and the 'fulness of the times' (*Gal.* 4_4). But quite another matter is John's apparently much more concrete belief that Zechariah's and Ezekiel's Spring *had already begun to flow down from the sanctuary to the Arabah*, a belief, without which the son of a priest would certainly not have dreamed of using the unclean Jordan waters for his purificatory purpose. Yet even for this innermost problem of the Baptist's religious consciousness a probable solution may be found in the scriptures. I hope to prove elsewhere that all the prophetic passages about the abun-

[1] *Matt.* 21_{32}—an expression which obviously means actively to accelerate the coming of the Messianic time, instead of patiently awaiting it. See below p. 158 n. 1.

dant water flowing forth from Mount Zion are ultimately dependent on the following prophecy of Isaiah (28$_{16}$), which had been mutilated at a very early date in the official copies through Pharisaic influence, but remained well known in its original extension till the 3rd century of our era:

> Behold I lay down in Zion a living stone, a stone of probation, a precious threshold-stone for a foundation. Out of its hollow shall flow forth rivers of living water; he that believeth on me shall not suffer from drought (*lō jibbash*, lit. = shall not dry up; cp. *Jo.* 7$_{38}$, 6$_{35}$, 1 *Peter* 2$_{4}$, *Ps.* 36$_{9}$).

It is evident that in this allegory by 'living stone' is meant faith in Jahvè, the real foundation-stone of the temple. The living water flowing from it and watering the believer can only be the 'spirit' of God, which is described in *Isaiah* 30$_{28}$ as an overflowing stream, reaching to the midst of the neck and sifting the nation with the sieve of vanity. Even if some among the later parallels[1] to this Isaian text may have considerably materialised the prophetic image of the living water, it is highly probable that in the times of John there was a school among the Rabbis, which understood the Messianic water of life in its original spiritual sense[2]; indeed, the so-called *Dorshē Reshumōth*, or Palestinian expositors of the scriptures on the lines of allegory, who were contemporary with and even prior to their Alexandrian emulator Philo,[3] regularly explained the water which was miraculously given to the Israelites in the desert, as a figure for the Law or

[1] *Ezek.* 47$_{1-18}$; *Joel* 4$_{18}$; *Zech.* 14$_{8}$; *Odes of Solomon* 6$_{7ff.}$; *Rev.* 22$_{1}$.

[2] Cp. *Amos* 5$_{24}$: "Let righteousness run down as a mighty stream and justice like waters." *Is.* 45$_{8}$: "Let the skies pour down righteousness," or *ib.* 55$_{1ff.}$; or 11$_{9}$, "The earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." See also the "waters of wisdom" in *Ecclus.* 15$_{3}$, *Enoch* 39$_{5}$, 48$_{1}$, 49$_{1}$; *Wisd. Solom.* 5$_{22}$.

[3] Cp. Lauterbach's paper in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, I. 291ff.

Word of God. If John knew this symbolism and approved of it, why should he wait any longer for the literal gushing forth of a Messianic Spring for purification and for its marvellously atoning water, when the real source of life was at hand any moment in the revealed Word which quenches man's spiritual thirst? Could he not feel confident that the prophecies about the Messianic Spring foretold in reality nothing else but a new powerful proclamation of the Divine Law to Israel in the Last Days? And if he understood them so, what could be more natural than that this deep insight into their meaning gave him the inner conviction of being indeed the humble instrument chosen by God to work the final purification of Israel? Oscillating between a spiritual symbolism and the material reality,[1] he can very well have thought it necessary at the same time to fulfill as far as possible the literal meaning of these scriptural passages above referred to; and so, when—as Josephus (above, p. 146) describes the Baptist's method—"the soul had been previously cleansed by righteousness," that is on the one hand by the moral exhortations of the Preacher (*Lk.* 3_{11-14}), and on the other hand by a confession of sins on the part of the penitents (*Matt.* 3_{6}), the old body was to be drowned in the waters of the Jordan, to which faith, the real redeeming spring descending from God's sanctuary to the desert, would have imparted life-giving qualities. If he could thus induce Israel to '*return*' from its ways of wickedness, God could be expected to realise his promise too, "to turn again and wash away their sins into the depths of the (Dead) Sea," as Micah has it.

[1] Such readers as are unfamiliar with this typical attitude of religious experience should remember Rudyard Kipling's masterful and highly suggestive description of the Teshoo Lama's search for and discovery of the river of Buddha's arrow in *Kim*.

XIX.

JOHN—OANNES?

It is more than a century since Charles François Dupuis, the famous Parisian lawyer and professor of rhetoric, first declared[1] that John the Baptist was a purely mythical personage and his name the equivalent of that of the Babylonian fish-clad divinity Iannēs or Ōannēs.[2] Quite recently the same theory has been repeated in Prof. Arthur Drews' much-discussed book on the so-called 'Christ-myth,'[3] a work of far less original, yet in other respects quite similar character to that of Dupuis.

If then I venture to support that part of Dupuis' assertion which refers to a possible connection between the two names—as I have already done before Drews took up the question[4]—I feel confident that no reader of the preceding chapters will think that I am thereby encouraging this renewed attempt to deny the historicity of a Pre-Christian teacher, whose peculiar activity is attested beyond any reasonable doubt by the authority of Josephus.[5]

[1] In his very learned, in parts highly ingenious but as a whole hopelessly fantastic book, *Origines de tous les Cultes* (Paris, 1795), vol. iii. pp. 619f. and 683.

[2] Both forms are attested in our sources. In two places the manuscripts would even allow us to read Iōannēs, in itself a possible rendering of the Babylonian *Ēa-Ḫani, which Lenormant believed to be the original of Berossus' enigmatical Greek spelling. Cp. above p. 44 n. 1.

[3] Vol. ii., p. 271, of the German edition.

[4] *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, Dec. 1909, p. 652.

[5] Cp. above p. 129 n. 1. To suspect the authenticity of this passage is absolutely nonsensical.

On the other hand, I am fairly convinced that the rapid propagation of John's ideas, and especially the spreading of his fame into the low-lands of South Babylonia, has indeed a good deal to do with the striking resemblance of his traditional name to that of the primeval Babylonian fish- and fisher-god, the teacher and lord of all wisdom.

Readers will remember that the Mandæans (=Gnostics) or Subbās (=Baptists), who still exist in the marshes round Bussorah, have preserved such rich traditions about 'Jaḥjā Johannā'[1] that Ignatius à Jesu, the first Christian missionary who worked among them, believed he had rediscovered in them the last remains of the 'Disciples of John' who are repeatedly mentioned in the Gospels.

Under these circumstances it is very remarkable that in the still untranslated Mandæan *Sidrā d' Jaḥjā* (or *Book of John*),[2] we meet with a series of fragments on a divine being called the '*fisher of souls*.' Now this title, which, if the current views about the Christian origin of the fish-symbolism were correct, should be reserved to Jesus and his Apostles, and which has scarcely been transferred to John *à posteriori* by a late Christian afterthought, is *bestowed upon the Baptist* by some occidental witnesses—*e.g.* the deservedly famous Ambrosian choral chant alluding to the baptism of Jesus by John:

> He sunk the hook into the deep,
> Fished forth the Word of God.

Taking this striking fact into due consideration, we shall have to inquire whether there is not a certain probability that also among the 'Disciples of John,'

[1] Cp. A. L. Beatrice Hardcastle, 'Fragments from the Mandæan Traditions of John the Baptist,' *The Quest*, vol. i., pp. 435ff.

[2] Cp. Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Gressen, 1910).

even as in the earliest Christian Church, the converted and baptised members of the community were called 'the fishes,' while those who operated the 'regeneration' of new believers through the rite instituted by the master — foremost among them the 'Baptist' himself—were known by the honorific title of 'fishers.'

If such were really the case, we should no longer be puzzled either as to John being called a 'fisher,' or about his alleged identification with the mythic Mandæan 'fisher of souls,' who is himself — most probably—the old Babylonian fish-clad and fisher-god Ḫani-Ōannēs, especially if we compare Jesus' remark that the Baptist "neither ate nor drank" with Berossus' striking statement[1] that Ōannēs *was never seen to partake of any human food* during his daily sojourns among men, between his morning rising from the sea and his evening return to the deep. We should indeed not hesitate even to presuppose that the same syncretism of John and Oannes, which seems so natural with Neo-Babylonian Gnostics, existed also among the more immediate *Jewish* followers of the Baptist, seeing that an influence of the Babylonian belief in ever new incarnations[2] of the primeval Oannes on the Messianic hopes of the later Jews is far from being incredible. In chh. 12f. of *IV. Esra* (*temp.* Domitian, 81-96 A.D.), the Redeemer of the world, the celestial 'Man,' is expected *to rise from the 'heart of the Ocean'* before his coming, as *Daniel* (7_{13}) says, with the clouds of the sky; for:

As no man can search or discover that which is in the depths of the Ocean, even so no mortal can see the Son of God nor His hosts except in the hours of His day.

[1] *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, ed. Müller, ii. 496f.

[2] Berossus knows as many as six such reincarnations in past times.

There is a striking difference between this vision and that of Daniel, where the four beasts rise—even as Tihamat the Old Dragon—from the waters of the Ocean, while the 'Son of Man'—like Marduk, the Redeemer, the Son of Ea—descends from the heights of the sky.

Hermann Gunkel has well observed that the above-quoted reason for this alteration, as given in the text itself, is wholly unsatisfactory. As, however, no better explanation has been offered until now for this remarkable feature of late Jewish eschatology, I venture to suggest that Pseudo-Esra conceived his 'Son of Man' as the ultimate reincarnation of that primeval fish-clad Benefactor of mankind, of whose seven successive manifestations or risings from the Erythrean sea, in previous æons, he may have read, either in the works of Berossus, which enjoyed a wide popularity in the Hellenistic world, or in certain pseudepigraphic works that were attributed to Oannes himself in those days, and which most probably circulated wherever the wandering 'Chaldean' astrologers and magicians tendered their begging-bowls. This is all the more credible since we shall see below (p. 171 n. 1), that according to a current Jewish doctrine, the Messiah will be reborn as a 'Fish' (ben-Nun).

Now if really certain later Israelite thinkers, perhaps originally Jews of the Babylonian or Syrian Dispersion, identified their pre-existent Messiah, who was to deliver Israel under the astral sign of the Fish,[1] with the old Oannes, Iannes or Ioannes, and therefore expected the ultimate Redeemer of Israel to rise from the 'heart of the Ocean,' if on the other hand the most enthusiastic followers of the Baptist believed

[1] See Scheftelowitz, *Arch. f. Religionswiss.*, xiv. 47ff.

him and not Jesus to be the Redeemer, who lived hidden and unknown on earth to return with the clouds from the sky on the Day of Judgment, it is by no means impossible that the baptising 'fisher of souls' should have been considered by some of those who believed in him, as the reborn fish-clad Ḫani-Ōannēs.

XX.

JOHN—JONAH.

However that may be, there is perhaps another identification of our hero with a mythic character, which should first be considered because of its far more transparent historical origin. We owe to W. Brandt[1] the very plausible conjecture—approved also by T. K. Cheyne[2]—that in the original (oral?) tradition *Matt.* $12_{39,40}$ (=*Lk.* 11_{30})-$_{42}$ was connected with *Matt.* 11_{7-19}, so that a testimony of Jesus to John was converted by the Christian author of Q, the non-Markan source of matter common to *Matt.* and *Lk.*, into a testimony of Jesus to himself. According to this hypothesis Jesus would have said:[3]

Matt. 12_{39}	An evil and adulterous generation looketh for a sign, but there shall be no sign given to it, save the sign of the prophet Jonah.	*Lk.* 11_{29}
Matt. 12_{40}[4]	For as Jonah was a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall [he[5]] also be to this generation.	*Lk.* 11_{30}

[1] *Evangelische Geschichte*, 459^2. [2] *Enc. Bibl.*, 2502.

[3] The present writer himself is responsible for the transposition of some verses, which seems inevitable to him, in order to obtain a logical connection of ideas.

[4] Here *Lk.* alone has preserved the trustworthy text, while *Matt.* is manifestly altered.

[5] The word 'he,' which must be added in English to express the identity of subject in both parts of the sentence, has no equivalent either in the Greek or in a Semitic original. The subject can be the same in both phrases, either because the comparison of *Matt.* 16_{17} 'bar-Jōna' with *Jn.* 1_{42} 'hyios-Iōannou' (in both cases the father of Peter) shows that Jona and Joanan could be taken as the same name (see also ch. xli. of the Greek Physiologus: "The 'dove'—Greek *peristerá*, but in Hebrew *Jonah*—which is Johannes the Baptist . . . "), or because Jesus could mean "so shall he—the *re-born* Jonah—be again a sign to you."

Matt. 12$_{41}$ The men of Ninive shall rise in the Judgment with this generation and shall confound it, because they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold a greater Jonah is here.[1] *Lk.* 11$_{32}$

Matt. 12$_{42}$ The Queen of the South shall rise up in the Judgment with this generation, and confound it; for she came from the uttermost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon;[2] and behold a greater Solomon is here. *Lk.* 11$_{31}$

Matt. 11$_{7}$ But what went *ye* out into the wilderness to see? A reed[3] shaken with the wind? *Lk.* 7$_{24}$

Matt 11$_{8}$ What then went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment?[4] *Lk.* 7$_{25}$

Matt. 11$_{9}$ What then went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, even more than a prophet! *Lk.* 7$_{26}$

Matt. 11$_{11}$ Verily, I say unto you, among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater[5] than Jonah[6]—*the Baptist!* *Lk.* 7$_{28}$

Matt. 11$_{13}$ For all the prophets and the Law[7] have prophesied until Jonah. *Lk.* 16$_{16}$

Matt. 11$_{12}$ But from the days of Jonah—the Baptist—until now the Kingdom of Heaven *Lk.* 16$_{16}$

[1] The traditional reading "a greater *than* Jonah," is probably due to the author of Q.

[2] *Sc.* without waiting for him to work a sign in order to prove the divine origin of his wisdom.

[3] According to *Ezek.* 29$_{6}$ the reed is an appropriate symbol for weakness and unreliability. Jesus, of course, alludes to Jonah breaking down under the task which Jahvè had laid on his shoulders.

[4] The glossator who added "behold they that wear soft clothing are in king's houses," wished to lead the reader on the way to the right understanding of the verse. Of course, the words aim at "Solomon in all his glory" (*Matt.* 6$_{29}$; cp. "gorgeously apparelled" in *Lk.* 7$_{25}$), and the sense is: Did ye wish to "behold King Solomon with the crown" (*Cant.* 3$_{11}$; cp. *I. Kings* 10$_{24}$), and to "hear his wisdom"?

[5] Lk.'s addition "prophet" does not agree with the preceding verse. For the (interpolated) rest of this verse see above p. 36 n. 1.

[6] See last page n. 5 on the identification of the names *Jonah* and *Joannes* in *Matt.* 16$_{17}$, *Jn.* 1$_{42}$.

[7] Alluding to *Deut.* 18$_{18, 15}$.

is being stormed and the violent appropriate it by force.[1]

Matt. 11$_{10}$ For this is he of whom it is written, 'Behold I send my messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way for thee.' *Lk.* 8$_{27}$

Matt. 11$_{14}$ And if ye will receive it, he is Elias' who is for to come.

Matt. 11$_{15}$ He that has ears to hear, let him hear.

Matt. 11$_{16}$ But whereunto shall I liken this generation, etc.

The comparison of the Baptist with Elias is wanting in *Lk.* It is, however, beyond doubt genuine, for the combination of the second greater Jonah and the

[1] This much debated saying presupposes the Jewish conviction that men could accelerate the coming of the Kingdom and even force it down immediately by certain actions, either of obedience or of disobedience to the commandments of God. Thus it is said in *Shab.* 118b (cp. *Jer. Ta'an.* 64a), that the Messiah and the final redemption *would come at once, if all Israel were to observe two successive Sabbaths, nay keep one single Sabbath rightly as it ought to be kept.* It is quite an analogous idea, that the fervent repentance of John and his disciples could be strong enough to bring the Kingdom of Heaven down *by force.* That such an apparent violation of the Divine plans of Providence was not always considered as sinful, *hybris*, may be seen from the repeated saying in the Talmud, that God *loves to be conquered by a sinner through repentance.* For the contrary view, cp. the Rabbinic comments on *Canticles* 2$_{7}$: "I conjure you . . . do not stir up, do not awake love, until He pleases." This double entreaty is said on the one hand to charge the Israelites not to cast off the yoke of the secular powers by force and not to return by means of a revolution into the promised land, on the other hand to warn the Gentiles against making the yoke of Israel unbearable. For in both cases the wrongdoers would be guilty of *forcing the Messianic Day to dawn before its time.* In this connection Rabbi Chelbo uses the technical term of "*pressing against the Messianic Time,*" which is the exact counterpart of the Evangelic expression 'storm the kingdom' or 'take it by force.' Rabbi Oniah even says, that four generations have already perished, because they tried 'to invade the Kingdom' and mentions—along with others—the generation of Bar-kokhba, the Pseudo-Messiah. Quite possibly the comparison of the Old Testament Jonah and the Baptist extends its influence even to this verse. The *over-zealous* Jonah quarrels with Jahvè, because He defers again and again in His forbearance the foretold Day of Judgment. Even so the greater Jonah, the Baptist, dares in his burning zeal to realise arbitrarily and at once God's plans of an ultimate purification of the repentant Israel immediately preceding the Last Judgment, forcing thereby Jahvè in a certain way to accelerate the coming of the Kingdom. Jesus, of course, attributes an over-zealousness to the Baptist and the violent ones. Yet, as does also the author of the Book of Jonah, he thinks that God does not disapprove at all of such men, who are "eaten up by the zeal for his house," and that indeed the Baptist's and his followers' fervent repentance had somehow brought nearer the Kingdom. Therefore, because he prepares the Lord's way, instead of merely foretelling it, he is the greatest among mortals.

reborn foretold Elias accords with Rabbinic passages such as the *Midrash Rabba to Leviticus* §15, where Jonah is connected—even as in certain Christian catacomb paintings[1]—with Elias. It agrees, moreover, with Jesus' conviction that, according to the Scriptures, he who was the prophesied Elias, was also doomed to suffer martyrdom. The Passion of Elias had been foretold—according to a fortunate discovery of Dr. Rendell-Harris—in a pre-Christian Midrash[2] on the ascension of Phinehas the High Priest; but as the Baptist was in the opinion of Jesus not only the reborn Elias but also a 'greater Jonah,' he was doubly destined to be swallowed by the Great Fish, whose belly is Sheōl (*Jonah* 2_2). It is very remarkable, that even for this belief Jewish parallels can be produced; for in later kabbalistic writings the first of the two subsequent Messiahs, the one who loses his life in the fight against the evil powers, the Messiah ben Joseph, is identified with the prophet Jonah.[3]

Now the theory of Cheyne and Brandt is that the above-quoted sermon of Jesus plays on the similarity or even equivalence of 'Jonah' with the Baptist's name 'Joḫanan.' The more I study the whole problem, however, the more I feel inclined to go boldly one step further and ask: Was the 'Forerunner' already called Joḫanan when Jesus delivered this important sermon, or does he not rather owe that name—indirectly of course—to this very comparison of him with the prophet Jonah, which became popular for a time

[1] Wilpert, pl. 160, fig. 2. According to Ps. Epiph. (*De Vit. Proph.*), Jonah was the son of the widow, who had been resuscitated from death by Elias.

[2] In Ps.-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, a most interesting haggadic paraphrase of the so-called Octateuch, on the pre-Christian origin of which see W. T. Woodhouse, *Enc. Bibl.* 254 §15. Phinehas is to be reborn as Elias, caught up, sent up to the world at a later date, *when he shall be put to death.*

[3] Cp. Elijahu ha-ḳōhen *Midraš Talpijōth*, Varsovy, 5635, fol. 233.

through the authority of Jesus? In fact, if Jesus surnamed the Baptist 'Jonah' as he nicknamed Simon 'Kēpha'' and the Zebedaids 'Benē R^e^geš,' later readers of his sayings, who were ignorant of his reasons, because they found the decisive words torn asunder and fundamentally modified (cp. above, p. 156ff) in Q, may easily have taken 'Jonah' for what it often is, *viz.* an abbreviation of Joḫanan, while at the same time they retained the good old tradition that this was the true, significant or 'spiritual' name of the Baptist, given him by Jesus, which means for a Christian author, by God himself.

What leads me to suppose such a development is a striking detail concerning the name or rather the names of our hero in Luke's 'Gospel of Infancy' (1_{59}), where we are told that on the eighth day, when the family assembled to circumcise the child, "*they called him Zachariah after the name of his father.*" Moreover v. 61 expressly informs us that none of the Baptist's kindred was called John. Now since we know other cases of Jews being called by the name of their fathers—though the practice is unusual nowadays and seems to have always been rather uncommon—and as the whole *dissension* about the child's name is certainly not derived from the Old Testament parallels which have been used to build up the pious legend of the Baptist's earliest life, I have long ago suspected that his real name was Zachariah b. Zachariah and that Iōannēs (for Joḫanan, and this again for Jonah) was only another surname,[1] even as was 'the Cleanser' (*ho Baptistēs*).

[1] The analogous cases 'Jesus who is called the Christ' (*Matt.* 1_{16}), Simon-Petros-Kēpha', John or Andrew ben R^e^geš, Justus-Josef or Jesus bar Sabbas Saulos-Paulos, Thomas-Didymos, Johannes-Markos, Simeon-Niger, Silas-Silvanus are treated by Dessau, *Hermes*, xlv. (1910), p. 347ff.

Just as the 'prophecy' of the angel in *Lk.* 1₁₃, "he shall not drink wine or strong drink," is devised to explain the well-known and historical Nasirate of the Baptist, so also the angelic order, "thou shalt call him John,"[1] must be a late, and therefore possibly quite gratuitous, attempt to explain the hero's more popular name 'Iōannēs.'

If the secondary names Joḫanan or Iōannēs were really—as I believe—syncretised with the very similar titles Ḫani-Iannēs-Ōannēs or Iōannēs, then this must be a later development by some among John's followers, seeing that it transcends the strictly scriptural, and therefore genuinely Jewish circle of ideas. This identification may have been favoured by the existence of a most extraordinary Jewish tradition which represents Jonah as at least a *would-be* 'fisher.' When the prophet of Gath-Hefer was in the belly of the whale (says the *Midraš Jalḳut Jonah*, §1) he prayed the great fish to bear him quickly to the Leviathān, for he desired *to catch the monster with a fish-line*, in order, when safe on the shore again, to prepare with its flesh a meal for the pious—that is, the legendary Messianic fish-banquet which will be dealt with in a later chapter. This over-bold undertaking—another attempt on the part of Jonah to 'storm the Kingdom of Heaven' and to bring about by force the Messianic state of things—had, to be sure, no success, but quite the contrary. From the typical representation, on early Christian sarcophagi, of fishermen spreading their nets by the shore, towards which the great fish vomits forth Jonah, we can guess that he who had dared to ensnare the primeval monster fell himself into the nets of the fishermen, a typical fate familiar to

[1] Cp. *Gen.* 17₁₉, "thou shalt call his name Isaac."

the comparative mythologist from the legends of the fisher-god Dionysos Halieus, the fishing goddess Diktynna, the marine deity Proteus, etc. The strange idea of the swallowed man fishing from the whale's belly will somehow remind the reader of the Babylonian priestly fishermen clothed in fish-skins like their fish-clad god Oannes, and we may be sure that in those days many a Babylonian Jew must have taken the frequent images of such priests on the monuments surrounding him, for representations of the famous prophet whom the Bible credits with the astonishing success of having humbled to sincere repentance the proud king of Assur and all the Ninivites—just as in our own days critics have often been struck by the tempting idea of a possible connection between the Jonah-motive and the Oannes-type.

However this may have been, the alternative as to whether the Baptist's original name was Joḫanan b. Zachariah or rather Zachariah b. Zachariah is ultimately of very slight importance. What really matters for the general history of those times is that he was certainly likened to Jonah and Elijah by Jesus, and most probably also to the Babylonian fisher-god Ōannēs-Ḫani by some of his disciples.

XXI.

THE FISHES IN THE MYSTIC STREAM OF EZEKIEL XLVII.

For our special purposes the main question still remains, whether John and his followers really conceived—as we were led to believe (cp. above, p. 153)—the regenerating rite of submersion in water as a 'fishing of men' in the same allegorical way as the early Christian Church; and if so, how *they* arrived at this symbolism.

In order to find a satisfactory solution of this problem we must start from the remarkable synoptic tradition (*Mk.* 1_5, *Matt.* 3_6)—not expressly confirmed, but also not contradicted by Josephus[1]—that John preached and baptised exclusively by the shore of that very Jordan which was considered unfit for cleansing by the Rabbis, owing to its being a mixture of running and stagnant water (*Parah*, viii. 10). Indeed, this single feature is sufficient to establish a sharp distinction at once between the 'baptism of repentance' and its immediate antecedent the Rabbinic 'baptism of the Proselytes' (cp. above ch. XVII.) on the one hand and on the other its subsequent development in the Christian baptism of initiation. *Acts* $8_{36ff.}$ show that the latter could be performed in any wayside pool, in

[1] See the quotation above, p. 129 n. 1. The place-names connected with John's baptism in the fourth gospel are purely symbolical (above p. 131 n. 3) and cannot therefore be used to supplement the synoptic account; the arguments against the baptism *in the Jordan*, which have quite lately been proffered by W. Brandt, are all but convincing.

accordance with the general anti-pharisaic anti-formalistic tendency of early Christianity,[1] as determined by the attitude of Jesus and some of his most prominent followers.

Nothing, however, would justify us in attributing to a man like John, whose whole life was dominated by ultra-pharisaic speculations (cp. above, pp. 132ff.), the same anti-nomistic, or rather anti-Jewish, motives that underlie the fundamental indifference of Christianity as to the physical qualities of the baptismal water. If *he* neglected purposely the *natural* deficiencies of the Jordan water, he must have had beyond doubt a mystic reason for so doing. As I have already stated,[2] the only justification of this nature is offered by Ezekiel's prophecy (47ff.) about the *healing water running down to the unclean Jordan* from the temple-hill of Zion in the longed-for time of Messianic deliverance, and by the manifest belief of the Baptist that those times were now at hand.

This hypothesis is proved to be correct by the existence of other features in John's teaching which manifestly depend on certain characteristic details of the same prophecy.

Thus, for instance, the very *comparison of the righteous* who "justify God [in His prophecies] by being baptised with the baptism of John," *to fruit-bearing trees*, which begins the second half of the Baptist's sermon (vv. 10, 8), is again manifestly derived from Ezekiel's description of the Messianic water of life. For there the prophet says (ch. 47):

12 Behold on the bank of the river many trees. . . . By the river upon the banks thereof, on this side and on that side, shall

[1] Cp. the abolition of all possible Judaising distinctions between 'allowed' or 'forbidden' waters for baptism in the so-called *Teachings of the Apostles*.

[2] Cp. above, pp. 130 and 148ff.

grow all *trees* for meat, whose leaf shall not fade, neither shall the fruit thereof be consumed; *they shall bring forth new fruit month after month, because their waters issue from the sanctuary:* and the fruit thereof shall be for meat and the leaf thereof for medicine.

Nothing could be more natural than that John, who understood the life-giving water descending from the sanctuary as the Law emanating from God's eternal abode,[1] should also take the trees on the bank of this mystic river in a figurative sense: (1) according to the famous words (*Ps.* 1):

Blessed is the man . . . whose delight is in the Law of God . . . He shall be like a *tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf* also shall not wither.[2]

—words which occur in the same Psalm from which he also manifestly derives his impressive comparison of the wrong-doers with the chaff on God's floor;[3] and (2) according also to the picturesque and impressive words of the prophet Jeremiah (17_{5-8}):

Thus saith Jahvè: Cursed be the man that trusteth in man . . he shall be like a barren juniper shrub *in the desert* (*arabah*) . . . he shall inhabit the parched places *in the wilderness, a salt land* and not inhabited. *Blessed the man, that trusteth in Jahvè* and whose hope is Jahvè, for he *shall be as a tree planted by the waters* . . . that spreadeth out her roots by the river, and shall not mind when heat cometh, *but her leaf shall be green;* and shall not be careful in the year of drought, *neither shall cease from yielding fruit,*

[1] Cp. above, p. 148.

[2] The *Letter of Barnabas* (ch. 11, p. 160 of Hennecke's *Neutest. Apocryph.*) also connects *Ezek.* 47_{12} with *Ps.* 1_{3-6}, and explains them as symbolising "that we descend into the water full of sin and filth, but rise from it loaded with fruits, since we carry the fear of God in our hearts," etc. That "the leaves of the tree shall not fade" (cp. Ezekiel's prophecy "it shall be for medicine") is interpreted by 'Barnabas' in the sense that "every one of your words, going forth from your mouth in faith and love, shall help many to conversion and hope."

[3] Cp. *Matt.* 3_{12}, "he will burn up the *chaff* with unquenchable fire," with *Ps.* 1_4, "the ungodly are not so, but like the *chaff*, which the wind driveth away."

—words that invite combination with Ezekiel's vision by mention of the Arabah, the desert salt land around the Dead Sea, and comparison with the sermon of John by the symbolic contrast of the barren unfruitful shrub with the fruit-bearing tree.

Supposing then, with great probability, that *Ezekiel* 47 was the main point of departure for the development of the symbolism underlying John's regenerating baptism of repentance, we cannot help asking ourselves, whether the doctrine of the Baptist and his school should have neglected another prominent feature of this prophecy—I mean vv. 9 and 10:

> Wheresoever the river shall come everything that moveth shall live; and *there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither* . . . and it shall come to pass [that] *the fishers shall stand by it* from En-Gedi unto En-Eglaim; they[1] shall be a [place] to spread forth nets [for all fish] according to their kinds.

Want of space prevents an exhaustive discussion of what Ezekiel himself may have meant by these words. It is of course quite possible to understand them with C. H. Toy (*Enc. Bibl.* 1466, §14) in their most literal sense. But, on the other hand, it is pretty certain that almost from the first there were readers of this chapter who would not by any means be satisfied with a literal interpretation of this high-spirited passage. Unfortunately, owing to the unfavourable attitude of the Rabbis towards the allegorical exegesis of the scriptures, the Pre-Christian speculations of the Palestinian *Dorshē Reshumōth*[2] on *Ezekiel* $47_{9,10}$ have not been handed down to us. It is not impossible, however, to reconstruct them from

[1] *Sc.* En-Gedi and En-Eglaim, or rather the spots where the water of these two potent and still extant springs flow into the Dead Sea.

[2] Cp. above, p. 149 n. 3.

what we have, namely from the commentaries of the Christian Fathers, by eliminating the specially Christian features of their symbolism, while retaining those elements which clearly correspond to genuinely Jewish ideas.

To begin with Theodoret's Commentary on Ezekiel.[1] The Church Father refers the prophecy about the mystic stream to the sacrament of baptism, by saying "all those that are washed in the redeeming waters will reach salvation." He means of course the Christian baptism, but the words could quite as well be used by a disciple of John, since the latter's baptism is intended to save the repentant and regenerate new Israel from the 'wrath to come.' Theodoret continues:

> Ezekiel says also that the water will be *full of fish and frequented by many fishermen:* for many are they who through these waters will be *fished for redemption*, and numerous are they to whom the catching of this booty is entrusted. . . . And Ezekiel says also that the multitude of fish will not resemble the number contained in a river but in the largest ocean; for the new people[2] will not be equal in number to the old, but similar to the ocean of the nations, and it will fill the habitable world.

Equally Jerome[3] identifies the mystic stream running down from the threshold of Ezekiel's temple to the desert with the pure water of regeneration, which God promises to sprinkle over Israel in *Ezekiel* $36_{24f.}$[4] This water signifies, as he says several times, the grace of God to be obtained through baptism. By the fishermen, however, that stand on the river's banks the same fishers are meant, to whom the Lord Jesus said, "I will make you to become fishers of *men*," of whom

[1] Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxi. c. 1244 B.

[2] Cp. the 'ready people prepared for the Lord' by John in *Lk.* 1_7. Theodoret means, of course, the New Israel of the Universal Christian Church.

[3] *Comm.* in *Ezek.* 47, Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xxv. c. 467, 472ff.

[4] Cp. above, p. 131 n. 3.

we also find written in *Jeremiah* [16$_{16}$] : "Behold I shall send many fishers that shall fish you."[1]

And numerous species, nay kinds of fishes, will live in the once dead sea.[2] All these different fishes . . were drawn from the water at the bidding of the Lord by Peter, and their number was 153. Indeed those who have written about the nature and properties of animals, those who have studied the *Halieutica* (fishing-books) as they are called, both in Latin and Greek—among whom the most learned is the Cilician poet Oppianus—say that there are exactly 153 kinds of fish,[3] and all these kinds were caught by the Apostles.

Similarly in the Oriental Church, Ephraim Syrus[4] says—obviously alluding to *Ezekiel* 47$_{10}$:

Out of the stream, whence the fishers came up, He was baptised and came up, Who encloseth all things in His net.

How popular this allegorical interpretation of *Ezekiel* 47$_{10}$ must have been with early Christianity at large, can be seen from the fact that in more than one sanctuary Christian artists have represented the mystic Jordan full of aquatic animals and fishes and peopled with the angelic fishermen of *Matt.* 13$_{47-49}$.[5]

[1] Cp. on this verse above pp. 80ff. [2] Cp. the 'ocean of nations,' that is 'of pagans,' in the above-quoted commentary of Theodoret.

[3] Unhappily this quotation cannot be verified. The copious literature of ancient fishing-books mentioned in Athenæus is entirely lost, except the poem of Oppian, which does not contain anything of this kind and is indeed not really quoted by Jerome as his authority. The Church Father merely wants to 'show off' with the one name of a 'halieutic' author that he knows. The precious scrap of information itself is probably derived through some—may be even Christian—bestiary from another fishing-book. I need hardly say that my explanation of the number 153 in *Jn.* 21 (above, pp. 118ff.) is by no means inconsistent with this, as I believe, quite trustworthy tradition, *viz.* that some ancient, and then of course pythagorising, fishing-book estimated the total number of existing fish-species at 153. If the author of *Jn.* 21 knew this theory, he meant to say ΣΙΜΩΝ + ΙΧΘΥΣ match with all the different kind of 'fishes' caught in the world-embracing net of the Church. [4] *Select Works of Ephraim*, Morris, p. 16.

[5] Cp. the frieze running round the edge of the mosaic in the apse of S. Giovanni in Laterano (reprod. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, London, 1900, p. 169) executed by Jacopo Torriti at the bidding of Pope Nicolas IV., the original of the picture being a mosaic of the 4th century B.C.; a similar frieze is in S. Maria Maggiore, and there exist drawings of lost mosaics of the cupola of S. Costanza—also from the 4th century, where like motives are displayed (cp. Eugène Müntz, *Revue Archéol.*, Nouv. Série, vol. xxxvi., 1878, pp. 272ff.).

XXII.

THE FISH-SYMBOLISM IN THE RABBINIC LITERATURE.

Now, with the one exception of Jerome's explanation for the phrase "according to their kinds" in *Ezek.* 47_{10} with regard to *Jn.* 21_{11}, the whole above-quoted allegorisms are purely Jewish. I have already pointed out[1] that a spiritual interpretation of the 'living water'—the main subject of Ezekiel's vision—is frequently met with in later Jewish literature, and is indeed typical of the later strata of the Old Testament itself. As to the fishes representing the 'new' or regenerate righteous 'Israel of God,' everybody would have believed until quite lately that the comparison presupposes the well-known fish-symbolism of the early *Christian* Church. Fortunately, Dr. J. Scheftelowitz of Cologne, a younger Jewish scholar of uncommon erudition in comparative religions, has recently[2] succeeded in showing from hitherto neglected Rabbinic documents, that the fish living and breathing in the midst of the waters was quite a common symbol for the faithful Israelite, brought up and moving his whole life long in the waters of the sacred Law, as early at least as in the time of Rabban Gamaliel the Elder, who was the teacher of Paul and consequently a contemporary both of Jesus and of John.

[1] Cp. above p. 149, n. 2.

[2] *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, 1911, xiv. 2ff., 321ff.

Commenting upon the comparison in *Habakkuk* 1_{14}, which I have analysed in a previous chapter,[1] Rabbi Shemuel (beginning of the 3rd century A.D.) says for example:

Therefore are the sons of man compared here with the fishes: as the fishes of the sea die as soon as they come on the dry land, thus men perish as soon as they depart from the holy doctrine and the holy precepts.

Elsewhere we read:

The fishes grow up in the water, yet whenever a drop falls down from above they snap at it greedily, as if they could not swallow enough water from their water. Exactly so Israel grows up in the water of the sacred doctrine; but whenever they hear a new interpretation of the Scriptures, they accept it eagerly, as if until then they had not heard any words of sacred teaching from their own fountain of water.

In the age of Hadrian this comparison must have been commonly understood, since it is applied as a matter of course by R. Akiba. At a time when the public exercise of the Jewish cult was severely prohibited, R. Akiba, being about to initiate his Jewish pupils into the study of the Law, was asked by one Pappos, whether he did not dread the Roman authorities. He answered with the following parable:

The fox saw the fishes swim to and fro in a river from fear of the fishermen's nets. He advised them to avoid the dangers of the water by coming up on the dry land, where the foxes would live in peace with them, as their ancestors had done in the days of Paradise. But the fish declined the proposition, saying that if they were threatened by persecutions even in the water how much more should they dread the dry land, which means certain death to them. And the same fate, said Akiba, would await the Jews, if they abandoned the life-giving water of the holy Torah.

And the famous commentary *Berešith Rabba* (ch. 97) reads:

[1] Cp. above, pp. 80 and 82.

As the Israelites are innumerable, even so are the fishes; as the Israelites will never die out on the earth, the fishes will never die out in their element. *Only the son of a man named 'Fish' could lead Israel into the Land of Promise, namely Joshuah ben-Nun* (=Fish), a descendant of Joseph.[1]

The great favour which the comparison of Israel with fishes must have enjoyed can be estimated by the fact that even the Targumīm[2] have been influenced by its constant use. The blessing of Jacob on his grandsons Ephraim and Manasseh runs simply (*Gen.* 48$_{16}$): "They shall be greatly multiplied in the midst of the earth." 'To multiply' is here *dāghah*, which is intimately connected with *dāgh*, *dāghah* ('fish') and *daghan* ('corn'). This coincidence is intentionally emphasised by the version of the *Targum Onkelos*, where the blessing is rendered: "May they be multiplied even as *the fishes of the sea*." On this version alone rests the Rabbinic theory[3] that the Israelites as descendants of Joseph are protected for ever against the 'evil eye,' because Jacob has called them 'fishes of the sea'; for as the fishes are covered by the water (= the Law) and therefore proof against the evil eye, even so are the Israelites protected against every such influence. In the kabbalistic book *Haz-Zohar* there is a significant story

[1] Cp. *I. Chron.* 7$_{20-27}$. The descent from Joseph is mentioned here, because the Messiah, the re-born Joshuah, or—in the Greek version—Jesus, will again be a '*ben-Joseph*'; in order to lead Israel into the Messianic Blessed Land, he will also have to be a '*ben-Nun*,' a 'Son of Fish' or—quite as *bar-nasha*, 'son of man,' is in many places equivalent to the simple word 'man,' as *ben-bākār* is 'an ox,' *ben-zō'n* 'a sheep'—a 'Fish' himself. *This is beyond doubt the ultimate reason why Jesus the Nazarene is called the 'Fish' in the early Christian mystery-language.* Indeed the very Greek form *Iēsous* for Joshuah is only chosen in order to imitate by the mystic *psēphos* 888, obtained through this spelling (cp. above, p. 120 note), the equally peculiar Hebrew gematria of *Jehōshuah ben-Nun*=555, and thus to make the name of the future Messiah really "a name which is above all names" (*Phil.* 2$_{9}$). Cp. *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* xvi. 303.

[2] The old Aramæan translations of the Scriptures, that were made for the purpose of public reading in the synagogues after the hieratic Hebrew language itself was no longer generally understood in Palestine.

[3] See the testimonia collected by J. Scheftelowitz, *l.c.*, p. 345f.

of an astonishingly learned child who is being greatly admired by certain Rabbis. The mother therefore implores them to look on the boy with a *favourable* eye. He himself however says:

I do not mind the evil eye, for I am *the son of a mighty fish*, and fishes are proof against the evil eye. For Israel is compared in the blessing of Jacob to the fishes of the sea.

Even the Zodiacal Fishes are believed to signify that neither evil eye nor any star has power over Israel.

The pious students of the sacred Law are with special frequency compared to fishes:

As a fish delights in water, even so a master of scripture continually dives into the streams of balm, etc.[1]—

The pupils of Rabbi Gamaliel the Elder were divided into four kinds of fish: into clean and unclean fish from the Jordan (=brackish water fishes) and fish from the Ocean, according to their low or high descent, and to the degree of their learning and quickness of understanding.[2]

All this new material which Dr. Scheftelowitz has placed at our disposal, enables us at last to *prove* an hypothesis which the present writer put forward as early as in 1908.[3] If the Baptist's comparison of the righteous with fruit-bearing trees is based on *Ezekiel* 47_{12}, if he baptises in the 'unclean' Jordan water, because of his conviction derived from the same chapter, that the waters of the Arabah and the Dead Sea are *healed* in the Messianic time through a mystic influx from the sanctuary of God, *i.e.* through the living Word of God, through "righteousness flowing down like a stream" (*Amos* 5_{24}) in order to restore the pure Law all over Israel and to heal even the worst and most hopeless corruption of those who are cursed

[1] *Midrash Tanḥuma* to *Deut.* 5_{32}. [2] *Aboth de R. Nathan*, ch. 40.
[3] Cp. '*Die Taufe des Johannes*,' *Südd. Monatshefte*, 1908, nr. 12.

with the curse of living in the salt land of the Arabah (*Jeremiah* 17_5)—then he could not avoid interpreting also the numerous fish in Ezekiel's life-giving stream, as signifying, according to popular Rabbinic symbolism, the truly pious Israelites in their life-element, the sacred waters of the divine Torah.

If it was really the main idea of John's baptism[1] that not only the Gentiles but also the sons of Israel have to 'turn back' from the ways of wickedness, and regain their forsaken birthright as sons of Abraham, by being reborn through a regenerating baptism as true Israelites, because they "have abandoned God the fountain of living water" (*Jeremiah* 2_{13})—what could be more natural than that John should have called the unregenerate pagan-like Jews an 'offspring of vipers,'[2] reserving the honorific name of 'fishes' for those repentant ones that have been 'reborn from the water'[3]? even as Tertullian[4] contrasts his adversary, the heretic woman, as a 'viper' with the little innocent 'fishes' swimming in the baptismal font of the Church?

As the serpent can slough his old skin, so should the 'generation of vipers' strip themselves of their old *ego* by drowning it in the Jordan; then—just as the Rabbis believed that fish can originate spontaneously (through what we would call a *generatio æquivoca*) in water,[5]—would they be reborn as *true Israelites, as fishes*, who could henceforth live in water, in "the place of life for the fish,"[6] that is to say in the true Law of God.

[1] Cp. above, ch. XVII. [2] Cp. above, p. 142.

[3] *Jn.* 3₅. In the formula "reborn from the water *and the spirit*," the second half is the characteristic *Christian modification* of the Baptist's theory. Cp. p. 139 n. 5.

[4] Cp. above, p. 71.

[5] Treatise *Chulin* 63b., *Midraš Rabba* to *Lament.*, p. 58. Cp. also the so-called *Jozer* prayer for the New Moon Sabbath.

[6] *Aboda Zara*, 40a.

As to the many fishermen standing on the banks of the Messianic river, John has certainly explained them, as Jerome did a few centuries afterwards, as identical with the Messianic fishers and hunters of *Jeremiah* 16$_{16}$ and with the powerful fishers in *Habakkuk* 1$_{15}$—those same idolatrous ones, who vainly try, by means of a heathenish magical rite,[1] to discharge their sins on the innocent fish in the streams of their land: God will make *them* like the fish of the sea, by overflowing them with the mystic water from his sanctuary; after that he will send the fishers, who "take all of them with the hook, who catch them in their net and gather them in their drag," the fishers, who shall fish them from out of the 'ocean of the heathen,' from out of all the lands whither the Divine wrath has driven them. For they are not hid from God's face, neither is their iniquity concealed from His eyes.

And the final result of all these disquisitions? We know that Jesus underwent the baptism of John, and that he never thought of instituting another different baptism of his own.[2] We know further that no authentic saying of Jesus connects the figure of the fish or the fisherman with the baptismal rite instituted by John. On the other hand, no Rabbinic saying has ever been discovered in which the Pharisaic 'baptism of the Proselytes' is described as a 'fishing of man.' If therefore we find as early as in *Matt.* 17$_{24}$—that is under the reign of Domitian—the newly baptised Christian spoken of as '*a fish that cometh up from the*

[1] Cp. above, p. 141 n. 1.

[2] See the proofs offered by Conybeare in the *Zeitschr. f. N. T. Wiss.*, 1901, p. 275ff., for the theory that the original text of *Matt.* 28$_{19}$ was only "Go ye therefore and *teach* all nations in my name," and did *not* contain the manifestly later words "baptising them in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost."

water,[1] there is, as far as I can see, *only one explanation* for this fact and *for the whole fish-symbolism in the Christian initiatory rite:* namely, that *this allegorical way of speaking has been taken over, together with the baptism of repentance itself, from the school or rather sect of John* into the 'Christian' Church by such teachers as Apollōs from Alexandria, Andrew bar-Jonah, the brother of Simon Peter, and John bar-Zabdai, who are represented in our sources (*Acts* 18$_{25}$, *Jn.* 1$_{35}$), as having been *disciples of the Baptist* before they discovered the 'mightier one,' who was to come after John, in the humble person of Jesus the Nazarene.

[1] Above, pp. 93-96.

XXIII.

THE MESSIANIC 'FLOOD OF JUSTICE.'

In his last vision of the restored sanctuary on Mount Zion, Ezekiel beholds drops of water oozing out from under the threshold of the temple. Like a small runlet these drops trickle down from under the right side of the house on the right or auspicious side of the altar; then they drip through under the enclosing walls of the temple-precinct, and a thousand cubits farther they reach already over the ankles of one who passes through them. Again a thousand steps further down the seer crosses the stream a second time; but now the waters are up to the loins. Still another thousand cubits further the river has swollen to such a size that the waters—waters to swim in—could no more be passed over. With this the description of the wonderfully rapid growth of the stream stops abruptly; but if the reader's imagination follows these significant suggestions to the end, the image of a flood will inevitably rise before his spiritual eye.

We can safely suppose that the prophecy drifts quite intentionally into this current of ideas; for a very old Canaanite legend—parallels to which are to be found all over Palestine and Syria[1]—relates that in the great Noahic cataclysm the fountains of the cosmic

[1] Cp. Gaster in *Folklore*, ii. p. 204, Feuchtwang in *Monatschr. f. Gesch. u. Wiss. des Judentums*, liv. pp. 535-552, 713-729; Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*, p. 103; Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, London, 1896, pp. 237-239.

deep broke forth from under the '*eben shethiya*,' or foundation-stone of the world, which afterwards became the foundation-stone of the Jerusalemic temple. Moreover Rabbinic traditions know of other instances when the waters, locked beneath this sacred seal of the universe, broke loose and had to be stayed by the mercy of God, so as to prevent a new universal destruction of mankind. At every Feast of Tabernacles a special libation of water was poured on the sacred rock, in order to ensure, by imitative magic, the necessary "moisture of the deep that coucheth below" for the land of Israel, according to the popular belief that the rock on top of Mount Zion could withhold or supply at will the waters of the primeval abyss. Thus it becomes obvious that Ezekiel expected the parching drought, which causes the sterility of a certain region in the midst of the elsewhere blessed land, to be definitely removed, by means of a new flood, breaking forth in the Messianic future from the rock-hewn threshold of God's house[1]—a belief which was in perfect harmony with the wide-spread Oriental idea that the end of the present *æon* will be marked by a cosmic inundation. It is well known that other prophets also[2] expected a beneficent result from this final outpouring of water, at least for Israel, while some[3] thought of it as of an ultimate divine chastisement after the manner of the first cataclysm.

As the son of a priest of the sanctuary of Jerusalem, the Baptist, whose teaching was so deeply influenced by the study of Ezekiel's forty-seventh chapter,[4] must have been intimately acquainted with the traditions

[1] Cp. above, pp. 148ff. [2] *Joel* 4$_{18}$; *Zech.* 14$_{8}$; *Od. Sol.* 6$_{7}$ff.; *Rev.* 22.

[3] *Nah.* 1$_{8}$; *Is.* 10$_{22}$f., 28$_{15}$, $_{18}$f., etc. Cp. H. Gressmann, *Urspr. der israël.-jüd. Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1905), pp. 64ff., 160ff., 173.

[4] Cp. above, pp. 130f., 148ff., and ch. XXI.

about the Noahic flood rising from the cave under the sacred rock on Mount Moriah. Consequently he cannot have failed to realise that Ezekiel meant to describe what could be appropriately called the initial stage of the *Messianic* flood, especially since this feature of the prophet's vision agrees perfectly with all the rest of John's ideas about his baptism, as we have tried to analyse them in the previous chapters.

Indeed, among the many biblical passages that seem to have determined his own spiritual or mystic interpretation of Ezekiel's stream,[1] the most influential appears to have been *Isaiah* $10_{21f.}$:

The remnant shall *return*, the remnant of Jacob, to the mighty God. For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant [only] of them shall return. *For consumption is decreed —a flood of justice.*[2] For the Lord of Hosts shall make an extermination, even determined, in the midst of all the land.[3]

A passionate seeker, searching—as John did—the scriptures, in order to learn the decisions of the Lord about the impending final judgment of Israel, and to discover the possible ways of escape from the 'wrath to come,' must have concluded from the above-quoted prophecy of Isaiah, that God had decreed a thorough separation of the righteous 'remnant' of Israel from the great multitude of wrong-doers, by means of a 'flood of justice,' which should bring about pitiless extermination for the great majority of stubborn trespassers, but a salutary return to Jahvè and an expiation of previous faults or defilements for the 'chosen' remnant. The unavoidable comparison of

[1] Cp. above, p. 149 n. 2.

[2] '*Shōtef ṣᵉdākāh*,' lit. 'flowing justice'; cp. in *Is.* $28_{15, 18}$, the expression '*shōt shōtef*' the 'flowing scourge,' a metaphoric name for the deluge, which recurs also in the Ḳorān(89_{12}).

[3] The same sentence recurs in *Is.* 28_{22}, and that too with reference to a future deluge.

Isaiah 10_{21}, and kindred prophecies about a final destructive deluge, with *Ezekiel* $47_{1ff.}$, and the other foretellings of a beneficent Messianic outpouring of living, purifying waters over Israel,[1] must have confirmed John in his idea, that the same flood would mean at once a miraculous cleansing, nay a regeneration and final salvation, for those repentant ones who reverently submit to God's decree by a voluntary drowning of their old sinful self, and a sudden definitive annihilation for the impenitent ungodly ones who scorn the prophet's inspired preaching and his God-given 'baptism of repentance.' The former would be saved 'through the waters,' would pass unharmed through the Jordan, the boundary river of the 'promised land,' into the 'kingdom of heaven,' while the others, as enemies of God, would be overwhelmed without any pardon by the 'flowing scourge,' the stream of living water running down from Jahvè's sanctuary on Mount Zion, even as the Egyptian army was drowned in the same Red Sea which had offered a safe passage to the God-guided children of Israel.

The best proof that this was indeed the line of thought followed by the Baptist and his school is offered by the fact that the Christian Church, which almost incontinently took over John's 'baptism of repentance,' appears to be perfectly well acquainted, first with the typological relation between the Noahic flood and the baptismal immersion, and secondly with the spiritual equivalence of the baptismal water and the Red Sea, through which the Israelites had to pass into the Land of Promise. As to the latter, the reader will remember 1 *Cor.* $10_{1,2}$[2]:

[1] Cp. above, p. 177 n. 2.

[2] Of later witnesses cp. Ambros., Migne, *P.L.* xiv. 867; Sedulius, xix. 567; Augustin, xxxv. 1723; xxxvi. 917; xxxvii. 1037, 1411, 1420 and many others.

Brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers . . . all passed through the sea and were all baptised . . . in the sea.

The former is stated in the still more fundamental passage 1 *Peter* 3_{20},[1] where the author says:

The long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah while the ark was a preparing, wherein *few* [that is eight souls] *were saved through the water*,[2] *the like figure whereunto*[3] *baptism doth also now save us*—not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the prayer to God for a good conscience.[4]

The meaning is that in the days of Noe the sinfulness of mankind had reached its culminating point. Even the few righteous souls who survived the deluge in the ark, were forced by God to pass through the waters into safety. But while for them the flood meant only a salutary purification—owing to the long-suffering of God, who after all did not allow the waters to increase too quickly for the sake of those few pious ones—the impenitent rest of humanity were utterly exterminated. In the same way the repentant who undergo John's baptism in the Jordan, are saved 'through the water' of it; a final flooding and symbolic drowning (*Coloss.* 2_{12})[5] is not spared them, but after they have thus submitted to the decree of God, they are sure to escape the real drowning, which is to be the ultimate fate of those who refuse to 'justify God by being baptised.'

[1] The deluge as a 'type' of baptism will also be found with Optat., Migne, *P.L.* xi. 894; Augustin, xlii. 263; Fulgent., lxv. 543; Gregor. Magn. lxxviii. 321; Bruno Carthus. cliii. 414; Rupert Tuit. clxvii. 340; Joannes Beleth, ccii. 115.

[2] There is a Rabbinic legend (*Genes. r.*, sect. *Noaḥ*, vii. 7; *Ṣohar*, i. 68 p (ed. de Pauly) vol. i. p. 404 (that even Noe and his family were surprised, when at last the flood came, by its rapid growth, and *carried by the waves* into the ark.

[3] Namely, 'unto the water of the flood.'

[4] Cp. *Lk.* 11_1, on the special prayers—referring of course to the rite of baptism—which were taught by John to his disciples.

[5] On baptism as a symbolic death see also Anselm of Canterbury, Migne, *P.L.* clviii. 544, or Hincmar of Rheims, cxxvi. 105.

Thus the rite of John appears to be really what Albert Schweitzer[1] has first proclaimed it to be,—namely a purely *eschatological sacrament, a ceremony, which is expected to offer a guarantee against the 'wrath to come,' by anticipating mimically*—if this expression be tolerated—one of its main manifestations, namely *the final deluge foretold by the prophets.*

[1] *Von Reimarus zu Wrede* (Strassburg, 1906), pp. 378ff.

XXIV.

THE 'FISHES' EXEMPT FROM THE DELUGE.

THE essential correlation between the original 'baptism of repentance' and the 'flood of justice' of the dreaded Last Days—however much it may have been obscured, in the course of that fatal historic development which led to evolving an established, self-centred, universal Christian Church, out of an informal, narrow Jewish circle of Messianic visionaries—offers moreover an unexpected clue to the eschatological significance, inherent not only in the Baptist's regenerative rite itself, but also in the fish-symbolism connected with it, as it has been studied in chapter XXII.

The connecting link between this fish-symbolism and the eschatological ideas about the final deluge is to be found in an apparently insignificant detail of the Mosaic flood-story. As the Rabbis have observed,[1] the waters in Noe's time destroyed "all flesh wherein there is the breath of life from under heaven," according to the words of *Gen.* 7_{22} "all that was on the dry, died"; *no extermination, however, was decreed for the fishes that were in the sea.* Indeed, as a matter of course, they could not have come to harm through an inundation of the earth.

Whatever explanation may have been given for the alleged exception of the fishes from the universal

[1] *Sanh.* fol. 108a, *Seb.* fol. 113b, *Kidd.* fol. 13ab, and *Genesis rabba* to 6, 12.

destruction of all flesh at the time of the first deluge,[1] we can prove from the quoted texts that it was considered as a distinctive feature of the first, watery cataclysm; consequently we may safely suppose that those allegorists, who took the '*fishes in the water*' as a metaphoric phrase denoting the *pious Israelites living in the righteousness of the Law*—foremost among them, as we have tried to show,[2] John the Baptist himself—must have understood *the sparing of the fishes in the primeval deluge as a prototype of the salvation granted to the righteous Jews in the final cataclysm.* Of course, according to John's peculiar eschatalogy, *only the true repentant Israel*, namely, those that had been '*reborn from the water*' as 'fishes,' could hope to escape the avenging flood.[3] *The* '*fishes*' or baptised ones *will be*—as we read over and over again in the Christian authors[4]—'*safe in the water*'; *they will be able to* '*perambulate the paths of the ocean,*' '*to leap over the waves,*' and '*the breakers will not submerge them,*' even in those terrible days when the whole earth will again be covered by the last cataclysm.

[1] The passage *Kidd.* f. 13ab, treats of (legally) incestuous marriages. The context shows that the Rabbi's considered the deluge to have been caused in the main by the fact, that (*Genes.* 6_{12}) 'all flesh had corrupted its way upon the earth,' *viz.*, that in the 'generation of the Flood' incestuous unions were common among all living beings. (*Ṣohar* (ed. de Pauly), vol. i., p. 68a.) Now according to the popular superstition (above p. 173 n. 5) fishes originate in the water without any intercourse of the sexes in any way, so that the denizens of the water cannot be guilty of such a crime.

[2] Above, pp. 172ff.

[3] The popular idea was, on the contrary, that the whole nation of Israel was to remain untouched by the final flood. This conviction is combated as early as in *Isaiah* 28_5. Cp. H. Gressmann, *Palaestina-Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 42_4. It rests on the belief that the land of Israel had also been left untouched by the primeval flood; in *Ezek.* $22_{23f.}$, the highland of Judah is called '*a land that has not been cleansed nor rained upon in the day of indignation.*' The Talmud (*Ṣebaḥim*, l.c.; cf. *Pirkê di R. Eliezer*, §23) quotes this passage in support of the above described theory.

[4] Cp. above, pp. 72 and 113 n. 1.

XXV.

THE SECOND NOE.

THUS John appears to play, in the great Messianic drama of the Last Days, the *rôle* of the '*just man*' who is to save a *righteous remnant* of Israel, '*through the water*,' by means of sincere repentance, even as Noah, the 'just and perfect' (*ṣadik tōmim*) man of old, preserved the few righteous souls in the ark through the deluge of his time—a feature of his ministry which is all the more important, because a recently discovered Samaritan Midrash[1] proves that the Jews really attributed the functions of a *second Noah* to their expected Messiah.

This most interesting text begins with a remarkable etymology of the peculiar technical term '*Ta'eb*,' which is always applied to the future Redeemer in Samaritan writings, and must have been popular also in the Aramaic colloquial dialect of the ancient Palestinian Jews, although—as far as I know—it does not occur in any Rabbinic texts. Its literal sense is '*he that comes back*' or '*returns*,' that is to say *the* '*returned*,' *reincarnated* or *reborn*[2] *Joshuah*.[3] But our

[1] Ed. by Adalbert Merx, *Zeitschr. f. alt. Wiss.* Beih. xvii., 1909, p. 82.

[2] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.* iii. 8$_5$ (cp. *Antiqq.* xviii. 1$_3$) attests that the Pharisees believed in a reincarnation of the just, their souls being sent afresh into pure bodies in the revolution of ages. This accounts as well for Herod Agrippa's idea that Jesus was the reborn Baptist, as for the disciples taking Jesus for the reborn Elijah. See Conybeare, *Myth, Magic, Morals* (London, 1909), p. 294, and above p. 159 n. 2 on Phinehas being reborn as Elias.

[3] According to Merx's most important discovery it is expressly stated in the Samaritan Ms. Or. 3393 of the British Museum, that the Ta'eb will be called *Joshuah*.

treatise understands the 'returning one' in that spiritual sense which is suggested by the frequent exhortation *shubhu!* (Aram. *tubhu!*) 'turn back!' in the prophets of the Old Testament; it equates '*ta'eb*' with '*sha'eb*,' '*he who repents*,' or even '*he who turns back, makes repent*' others.[1] In this way the word *Ta'eb* is made to correspond to Nōḫam, a name given—obviously for the purposes of popular etymology—to Noe in *Gen.* 5$_{29}$,[2] and which can be translated '*repenting*.'

The story itself is a spiritualising variation of the deluge-story working on a long series of mystic word-plays[3]; while Jahvè says to Noah in *Gen.* 6$_{14}$, "make thee an ark" (*tebah*), his order to the Ta'eb will be 'make thee a *conversion*' (or *repentance*, *shubah*, Aram. *tubah*). For the measures and details of the ark (*tebah*) in *Gen.* 6$_{15f.}$ the Midrash substitutes the spiritual features of the enjoined 'conversion' (*shubah*), for the cubits of the ark the number of days in the 'year of conversion.' As the ark is lined (*k-f-r*) with pitch (*k-f-r*) within and without, the 'repentance' shall be 'expiated' (*k-f-r*) inwardly and outwardly with 'atone-

[1] The translation *Ta'eb*=Converter is also offered by Abu'l Fath, Merx, l.c. p. 42. See *Jew. Enc.* v. 212 on the Messiah's name *Hadraḫ*, "because he leads the people to *conversion*."

[2] Read with Wellhausen, *De Gent.* p. 38, n. 3, "and he called his name Noḫam (Masoret. text 'Noaḫ'), saying this same shall comfort us (*yenaḫamenu*)." The inconsistency of the traditional text has already preoccupied the Rabbis. Cp. *Beresh.rabba* § 25: "According to R. Joḫanan name and explanation do not tally; either he named him Noah [*sc.* and then we should expect another etymology], or he named him *Naḫman*"; Maimonides (*Sepher-ha-Jashar*, sect. *Beresh.* p. 5b, edition of Leghorn, 1870) thinks that Noah was called by his father Menaḫem (Comforter) on account of the difficulty involved in *Gen.* 5$_{29}$. This is most interesting, because Menaḫem is often mentioned as a *Messianic* name, an '*isopsēphon*' to *Ṣemaḫ* ('Branch'), which coincidence must have been known to Zechariah, when he alluded in his prophecy, 6$_{12}$ ("the man whose name is the BRANCH . . . shall build the temple of the Lord") to *Nehemiah* ('Jahvè *comforts*'). As to the verb '*nōḫam*,' 'to feel rueful or repentant,' cp. the dictionary of Gesenius-Buhl, *s.v.*

[3] This method of 'explaining' a text allegorically by changing single letters in certain words is enumerated under the name '*temura*,' in the long series of 'legitimate' methods of Rabbinic exegesis.

ment' or 'propitiation,' (*k-f-r*). As Noe was to put a 'light'-opening (*zōhar*, window, lit. brightness, light) into the ark and to finish it above in a cube, the Ta'eb will add 'light' or 'enlightenment' to the 'conversion' by doing righteous deeds, and thus finish it 'from above': "And the door of the conversion shalt thou set in the side thereof, that is righteous and honest deeds shalt thou work," etc. Where Elōhim says to Noah: "Behold I bring a *flood of water* upon the earth to destroy all flesh from under heaven; but with thee will I establish my covenant," etc., our Midrash makes him say to the Messiah-Ta'eb:

Behold, I bring a [flood of] conversion [and] of divine favour (*raṣōn*) about the earth, to save Israel and to gather it from anywhere under the sky. I shall perform my covenant, which I have erected with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. And thou shalt enter *into the conversion*, thou and thy house and the whole house of Israel with thee, and take with thee all kind of . . . *praying*[1] and *fasting*[2] and *purification*, which thou performest, and take all unto thee, and it shall be *for conversion* for thee and for them. And the Ta'eb did everything as God commanded him.

The ark (*t'bah*) saved Noah from the flood of perdition, and *the conversion* (*shubah, tubah*) *will save the 'Penitent one'* (*Ta'eb*) and all the sons of Israel from the flood of perversion (*panutha*).[3]

Then follows another very interesting pun on the Semitic word *t-b-h* for 'ark,' which can only be understood on the ground of belief that the Ta'eb—besides being a second Noe—was first of all *a new Joshuah*. In the first character he was to save Israel by taking it

[1] Cp. above p. 180, n. 4.

[2] Cp. *Matt.* 11$_{18}$, on the Baptist, who neither ate nor drank.

[3] The '*panutha*' is the present world of wickedness. With the phrase 'the flood of the *panutha*,' cp. the '*ocean of wickedness*' from which the divine Fisher draws forth the neophytes in the hymn concluding the *Paedagogus* by Clement of Alexandria. Jerome in *Ezek.* 47: "All kinds of men are drawn forth from the *sea of this* (*present*) *world*"; Ambrosius, *Hexaem.* V6$_5$: "O man . . . the *floods of this world* will not submerge thee," etc.

'through' the waters into the 'ark,' or mystically into the conversion; while in the second he was to lead it through the Jordan into the realm of promise,[1] or mystically into the kingdom of heaven. This is expressed in our Midrash by substituting for the word 'ark' (*tēbāh*) in *Gen.* 7_1 ("Come thou and thy whole house into the *ark*") the phrase (*'ērēz*) *tōbāh*, 'the *good* land':

And Elōhim said to the Ta'eb: Come thou and thy whole house *into the good land*, for thee have I seen righteous before me in this generation. Out of the whole Israel, of *the clean ones* myriads shalt thou take with thee, the male and the female to keep seed alive upon the face of all the earth. And it came to pass in the year 6000[2] (cp. *Gen.* 7_6) that the flood of the cursed æon (or 'of perdition,' *panutha*) came upon the earth, and the Ta'eb and his sons and the sons of Israel went into the < conversion > and [thus] into the *good* land in view of the [rising] flood of perdition, And myriads and myriads came to the Converter (or Rueful one—*Sha'eb*), to the conversion and the good land, as Elōhim had promised to Moses.

The deciding influence that was exercised on the Messianic movements among the Jews at the beginning of our era, by the main ideas which we find expressed in this newly discovered Samaritan Midrash, can best be seen and appreciated in the well-known story[3] of Theudas' revolt. When Cuspius Fadus was procurator of Judea, a certain 'conjurer' (*goēs*), Theudas by name, persuaded a great number of people—about four hun-

[1] Cp. also above, p. 183 n. 3, the belief in an immunity of the land of Israel against the flood. Besides, the reader will remember that Joshuah is the 'Son of Nun,' that is 'the Fish' (above, p. 171 n. 1), while on the other hand in the Indian flood-story Manu is saved by a fish—most probably a reflection of the Babylonian fish- and water-god Ea who saves Ḫasisatra from the deluge sent by Bel.

[2] According to *Sanh.* 97a, *Epistle of Barnabas* 15, the whole duration of the world is 7,000 years; with the year 6,000 begins the millennium or Messianic reign.

[3] Josephus, *Antiqq.* 20. 5. 1, § 97f.; cp. *Acts* 5_{36}.

dred—to take all their earthly possessions with them and to follow him to the river Jordan; 'for he told them,' as Josephus says, 'that he was a prophet,' or—as the still more significant version in *Acts* has it, 'he gave himself out to be *somebody*'—meaning of course *the new Joshuah*, or in the Septuagint Greek the expected '*Jesus*.'[1] In this quality he would perform the characteristic miracle of the 'Joshuah,' that is, divide at the word of command the river, and thus provide a dry passage through it for the sons of Israel. The unfortunate Theudas must have felt quite confident that if he thus tempted the long-suffering of God, he would really succeed 'in storming the kingdom of heaven,'[2] in bringing about the prophesied Messianic reign and in defeating the enemies of God's chosen people. Destiny, or rather the wisdom of the Roman policy, decided against his claims. For, when Fadus saw that Theudas had deluded many, he did not 'permit them to gain aught by their folly,' that is to organise a national revolt under the guidance of the 'new Joshuah,' but sent a squadron of cavalry against them, which dispersed the credulous crowd and slew many of them, before the intended Messianic experiment could be carried out.

It is obvious that the arrest and subsequent execution of John the Baptist by order of the Tetrarch was primarily due—as Josephus gives us to understand—not to his private offence against the royal family, but to a similar suspicion to that which was aroused later on by the strange undertaking of Theudas.

[1] The covert way of speaking of Theudas' claim is easy to understand on the part of a Christian author, to whom it must have seemed an unutterable blasphemy. Cp. also the fanatical Egyptian Jew, who made the Zealots believe, that—just as in *Joshuah's miracle of Jericho*—they would be able to *overthrow the walls* of Jerusalem *by the sound of their trumpets* (Joseph. *Antiqq.* 26).

[2] See above, p. 158 n. 1.

Both John's baptism in the Jordan and the attempted crossing of the river under Theudas seem to be politically entirely harmless, as long as their Messianic aims —which are deliberately passed over in silence by Josephus, although they alone can explain the quick and energetic reaction of the authorities against both movements—are not duly taken into account. No harm could have been done if a man simply led a caravan of pilgrims through a ford of the Jordan; but it could have become dangerous, if by a miracle, which might—for all that Fadus knew about Jahvè Sebaoth—just as well succeed as not, the fanatic could induce four hundred Zealots to recognise him as the 'new Joshuah,' that is the predestined victorious leader of the last fight against the unbelieving foes of Israel And, similarly, nothing could be more inoffensive for the secular power than the preaching of John about the cleansing of body and soul by water and righteousness, as it is rendered in Josephus. In this case, however, we can fortunately check the Flavian courtier's diplomatic account, by means of the fragments of John's sermon which are incorporated in the Gospels, and which contain the decisive eschatological cry: '*The kingdom of heaven is at hand!*'—a proclamation of very bad augury for all the temporary holders of earthly power in that age.

More than this, the parallelism of the Baptist's preaching and ministry with the above-quoted Midrash about the second Noe leaves little if any doubt, that John was not only believed to be the predestined redeemer of the righteous remnant from the last flood, but that he himself considered his mission in the light of these same eschatological ideas about an impending new cataclysm and the necessity of a rapid conversion,

which underlie also the well-known words of Jesus in *Matt.* $24_{37ff.}$ = *Lk.* $17_{26ff.}$ (Q):

As the days of Noe were, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be. For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noe entered into the ark, and knew not until the flood came and carried them away; so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be. Then shall two be in the field, the one shall be received[1] and the other left behind. Of two that are grinding at the [same] mill the one shall be received, and the other left behind.

In the light of this comparison, especially the threat of the axe that is already laid to the roots of the unfruitful, impenitent trees, appears to be *a direct menance of the Baptist* against his adversaries. It is true that the Church has explained the axe, in John's sermon, as referring to 'the mightier one,' so that either God Himself or the Messiah could be understood to wield the axe in the Last Judgment. If, however, we are right in assuming that the Baptist himself acts as the second Noe, it is probably his *own* axe which he hints at; for in all the later traditions about the flood, the beginning of the last stage of the tragedy is marked by *Noe's beginning to fell the timber for the ark.*[2] Consequently this simile of John's could be understood as a covert hint, that the prophet was ready to give up preaching at any moment for a more active hastening of the 'Kingdom of God,' by taking up arms at the head of the 'regenerate' Israel against those that withstood the coming of the longed-for Messianic theocracy.

[1] *Sc.* 'by the Son of Man into the ark,' that is into the 'conversion' and salvation.

[2] Cp. the references, in the *Jew. Enc.* ix. 320, and above, p. 134 n. 1, to an Arabian tradition that, before the cataclysm, people mocked at Noe for having become a carpenter—*the* Messianic carpenter of course!—after having been a prophet.

Each impenitent 'barren' tree that would thus be cut off by the axe of the second Noe, would mean a beam more for the ark of salvation that was to save Israel from the final deluge. Small wonder then if the most prominent of the foes whom the Baptist had already singled out for the prophesied 'cutting off,' by a violent attack on his private life, thought it better—as Josephus has it—to get John out of the way in good time, before he could raise the people to open revolt, than to run the risk of things coming to the worst, and being forced to repent when it would be too late!

XXVI.

THE TRIPLE BAPTISM AND THE THREE ELEMENTARY WORLD CATASTROPHES OF THE LAST DAYS.

THE Samaritan text which has been discussed in the last chapter identifies the second Noe with the Ta'eb or—to use the familiar term—with the Messiah. John's sermon, however, proves that in spite of his conviction of being the reborn 'Repentant' or 'Converter' Nōḫam, he did not believe himself to be *the* Messiah, the *final* Redeemer of Israel. A stronger one than he was to come after him, and to finish, with '*pneuma*' and *fire*, what the Baptist had begun with water.

It is true, that we have two obviously *inconsistent* versions of this important prophecy, since *Mark* 1*7f.*:

> I indeed have baptised you with water, but he shall baptise you with the Holy Ghost—

does not speak of fire at all. Critics of high rank[1] have even supposed that this shorter text is the only authentic rendering of a once independent utterance of the Baptist. They assume, that when this saying was *arbitrarily* inserted by a later narrator into the sermon, the fragments of which are preserved in the

[1] T. K. Cheyne, *Enc. Bibl.* 2500 §3, following Bakhuyzen, *Toepassing van de conjecturaal Kritieck*, 1880, p. 119f.

third chapters of both *Matthew* and *Luke*, it was artificially linked to vv. 10 and 11: '. . . . cast the barren trees *into the fire* . . . burn the chaff *with unquenchable fire* . . .' by adding the words '*and with fire*' to the prophecy about the impending baptism in the Holy Spirit.

The reverse of this hypothesis is true; the foretold baptism in fire proved a stumbling block to the later Christians, because—as, in fact, all the rest of the Jewish eschatological expectations—it never became true. Origen[1] for example says:

> The apostles were baptised with the Holy Ghost after the ascension (*sci.* of Jesus); *but where and when they were baptised with fire, the scripture does not say.*

This is the reason, why 'Mark' *restricted* John's prophecy to a Messianic 'baptism with the Spirit,' which could be considered as realised in the legendary experience of the Apostles in *Acts* 2 and in the 'gift of the Spirit' through the imposition of hands[2] in the Christian baptism and confirmation rites.

We cannot doubt therefore that the future baptism of fire in 'Matthew's' and 'Luke's' account of John's sermon was indeed an authentic feature of the Baptist's eschatology. Being accepted as such, it has been rightly combined by many expositors with the preceding similes of the burned chaff and of the barren trees, that are cast into the flame; it has consequently been identified with the impending judgment of the world by fire, as it is described in many picturesque prophecies of the Old Testament, and as it was expected by Jesus, as well as by the earliest

[1] *Homil. xxiv. in Luk.*, Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* xiii. 961. [2] The 'hand' is the symbol of the 'spirit.' Cp. *Is.* 8 11: "Thus Jahvè *spake* to me through the power of *the hand* (=of the spirit)." See *Weltenmantel*, p. 188, and Clem. *Hom.* xi. 26, *Recogn.* vi. 9: "The *spirit* of God as it were his *hand* has created everything."

Christian Church. The reader will remember that in Luke's rendering of Jesus' sermon about the Last Days (Q), the comparison with the age of Noe is followed, in the characteristic corresponsive rhythm of Oriental rhetoric, by the doubtlessly genuine sentence (17_{28}):

Likewise also as it was *in the days of Lot;* they did eat, they drank, they bought, they sold, they planted, they builded; but the same day that Lot went out of Sodom *it rained fire* and brimstone from heaven and destroyed all. *Even thus shall it be in the days when the Son of Man is revealed.*

Similarly in 2 *Peter* $3_{6f.}$, the mention of the Noahic cataclysm of water will be found side by side with the prophecy of a future world-conflagration:

. . . in the water . . . the world that then was being overflowed with water perished. But the heavens and the earth which are now, by the same [divine] word are kept in store *reserved unto fire,* until the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men.[1]

The author of this Epistle admitted a cosmic inundation only in the past; for the future his eschatology was satisfied with the prospect of a universal conflagration. He follows in this respect the Rabbinic theory,[2] that God was bound by his promise in *Gen.* $9_{11, 15}$,[3] not to bring a second deluge on the world. Since, however, this same passage supports quite as well the *restrictive* interpretation that God promises not to exterminate

[1] Cp. 2 *Thess.* 1f., "When the Lord Jesus shall be revealed . . . *in flaming fire taking vengeance.*" With this cp. *Tanḫuma Yelamdenu* to Judges (towards the end), where the Messiah is expected to burn up his enemies with his *fiery blast.*

[2] Cp. *Sebāḫim* 116a below: When the revelation took place at Mount Sinai and when the thick cloud, thunders and lightnings were upon the mountain, the people in the camp trembled. Being afraid that a new deluge was threatening, they sent in the absence of Moses to the seer Bileam. They got the answer that they were not to fear a second deluge, on account of God's promise, *Gen.* 9_{11}. *A flood of fire, however, was not impossible.* See on the 'fire flood' (Rabbinic *mabbul šel ēš*) Bousset, *Antichrist,* p. 159; *Sibyll.* ii. 296, iii. 542, 689, iv. 174; Hippolyt. *Ref.* ix. 30.

[3] "I will establish my covenant with you: neither shall all flesh be cut off any more by the waters of a flood, neither shall there be any more a flood to destroy the earth."

all flesh, and not to destroy *the earth itself*, by any future flood which He is to send, that is to say, always to spare a *remnant* of life on earth in all future world-catastrophes, we shall not be astonished to see that Jesus and his master the Baptist believed in an ultimate flood as well as in an ultimate conflagration, both being more or less openly described in the prophets.

To understand fully the ideas of the Baptist we shall only have to modify very slightly the current thesis, that the Messianic baptism of fire, foretold by John, is nothing else than the Last Judgment of humanity in 'the Day that cometh burning like an oven.'[1] As his baptism in water is *not simply identical* with the final deluge, which is to purify the world, but a symbolic and, for the repentant ones, an *apotropaic* and protective anticipation of it (pp. 180f.), even so does he expect that the 'Mightier One' coming after him will purge the righteous remnant of Israel, 'like a refiner,' in a baptism of fire, so that then they shall be proof as gold against the last flame, which is to exterminate the sinners—the idea being evidently based on *Malachi*, 3_{1-3}:

> Behold, I will send my messenger and he shall prepare the way before me . . . he is like a refiner's fire . . . and he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver and he shall purify the sons of Levi and purge them as gold and silver.

We have seen (p. 150) that John considered—according to a familiar Rabbinic symbolism—*his* baptism in the miraculously 'vivified' water of the Jordan above all as a baptism in the 'water of the Sacred Law,' in the 'flowing righteousness' of the Divine Word. A similar spiritual conception of the 'baptism in fire'[2] underlies the story of the first Pentecost after

[1] *Malachi*, 3_{19}. [2] Cp. *Şohar*, vol. v. p. 393 (de Pauly): "Those who study the *Law are purified by fire*, symbolising the *written, and by water* symbolising the *oral Law*."

the crucifixion, in *Acts* 2f., which is obviously intended to be a record of the fulfilment of John's concluding prophecy. Fire descends and rests upon the chosen ones, but it is *not* the devouring fire of judgment; quite on the contrary, the comparison of the narrative with its original model—Philo's description of the revelation on Mount Sinai[1]—shows, that the '*tongues* as of fire' are merely a symbolism for the 'Voice' or Word of God, derived from *Jeremiah* 23[29]: "Is not my word like as a fire?" and *Isaiah* 30[27, 33], where the '*tongue*' of Jahvè is said to be '*as a devouring fire*' and his breath kindling '*like a stream of brimstone.*'[2] Supposing that the interpretation of the Messianic 'baptism of fire' in *Acts* agrees with John's ideas about this miracle of the Last Days—and why indeed should it not?—we shall necessarily conclude, that the Baptist expected, even like Jesus (*Lk.* 17[28]), a rain of fire and brimstone to destroy at last the stubborn transgressors of the divine Law, just as had once been the fate of the Sodomites; but the righteous chosen ones would only experience a marvellous descent upon them of the Logos or 'Voice' and 'Breath' of God, which is, according to the prophets, 'as a devouring fire' and

[1] Philo, *De Decalogo*, 9 and 11; vol. ii. 185f. 188, 295, ed. Mangey; Ph.'s Works, English translation by Yonge, iii., 146, etc. He says that the Law was given by means of God's Voice, which spread itself abroad; there went forth all over the earth an invisible sound, which became changed into *flame-like fire;* the flame became articulate in the dialect to which the listeners were accustomed. Cp. *Talm. Shabb.* f. 88b; *Midr. Schemōth rabbâ*, ch. 5, as quoted in Brandt, *Ev. Gesch.* p. 374 n. 1. With this cp. the miracle in *Acts* 2[6], that every man heard those that spoke under the impulse of the fiery tongues, speak in his own language. The idea of a revealing 'Voice' of God, which is thus described by Philo, is familiar to the Rabbis under the name of the 'Bath Ḳōl.'

[2] Cp. *Enc. Bibl.* 611: "It is probable that the Hebrews like the Greeks (s. *Il.* xiv. 415, *Od.* xii. 417) and the Romans (Plin. *H.N.* 35[15]) associated the ozonic smell which often so perceptibly accompanies lightning discharges with the presence of sulphur. This may help to explain the passages which describe the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrha as having been brought about by a rain of fire and *brimstone* from heaven."

'similar to a stream of brimstone'; purged like gold and silver through this fire of divine grace, they will be proof against the destroying flames of the last cosmic conflagration. As the Midrash about the second Noe[1] distinguishes, in the future deluge, on the one hand a flood of perdition for the wicked ones, on the other hand a flood of divine favour (*raṣōn*) and of conversion for the repentant ones, and as John, looking to certain Old Testament prophecies, probably opposed the symbolic drowning in the salutary inundation caused by the Messianic spring from under the temple, to the 'wrath to come' in the shape of a universal cataclysm, even so the salutary baptism of the chosen ones in the fiery blast of God, which is to accompany the revelation of John's mightier successor, shall make them proof against the devouring fire of the Last Judgment.[2]

Thus it remains only to see, whether the 'baptism in *pneuma*,'[3] which is mentioned by John alongside of his own 'washing in water' and of the Messianic purgation through fire, can be explained on the same lines as the two other purifications. An affirmative answer to this question will at once appear quite plausible if we remember, first, that the Baptist could find in *Isaiah* 4_4 (cp. 57_{13}) the prophecy, that God will

[1] Cp. above, p. 186.

[2] Cp. *Sibyll.* ii. 252ff.: "And then (in the last Judgment) all will have to pass through the burning fire and the unquenchable flame. *The just ones will all be saved* but the ungodly will perish," etc. A good analogy is offered by the 31st chapter of the *Bundahish*—the Pahlvi translation of a lost section from the *Avesta*—where the ultimate purgation of the world by a fire that makes all metals melt, is expected to be most torturing for the sinners, but for the pure ones as mild as a bath in tepid milk.

[3] Cp. above, p. 139 n. 5, on the word *hagiōi* (holy) being a Christian interpolation into the original text of John's sermon. There is no question here of the 'Holy Spirit' in the technical sense of this theological personification, no more than of a 'sacred' Water or 'sacred' Fire in the two other baptisms, although both elements, the water flowing down from God's sanctuary and the fire 'from Jahvè' (*Gen.* 19_{24}, *Dan.* 7_{10}) could equally well claim the attribute of holiness in this connection.

"*purge the blood of Jerusalem from the midst thereof by the wind of judgment and by the wind of destruction,*"[1] and, secondly, that those very Old Testament passages, from which John has derived his simile of the 'mightier one' winnowing his harvest, speak expressly of the *wind*, which is to carry away the chaff and stubble[2]; in doing so they even use the same Hebrew word *ruaḥ*, which is translated by '*pneuma*' both in the Greek version of *Isaiah* 4₄, and of John's sermon.

Accordingly the Baptist's prophecy must be translated—as I have done before:[3]

> *I* indeed wash you in water, but *he* that cometh after me . . . shall cleanse you with *wind* and with fire.

The foretold purging by means of wind is to be understood as the same eschatological trial which is described, in the next line of the sermon, as a fanning of the harvested grain against the wind; since in reality it is by no means the winnower's fan, but the wind itself, that separates in this procedure the grain from the chaff,[4] and thus enables the harvester to 'gather the one into his garner' and to burn the other 'with unquenchable fire.' In *Isaiah* 27₁₂ the Baptist had read that "in that day *Jahvè will thresh corn* from the

[1] The decisive word 'wind' in these two terms, which seem predestined for the use of eschatalogical speculations, is indeed '*pneuma*' in the Greek version, *ruaḥ* (wind, breath; A.V. 'spirit') in the Hebrew original. *Isaiah* 4₄ is quoted by Origen, *Hom. in Jerem.* ii. 2f., as referring to a future 'baptism with the spirit of judgment,' which is different from the baptism in water and the baptism in fire.

[2] "Thou shalt fan them and the wind (*ruaḥ*) shall carry them away and the whirlwind shall scatter them," *Isaiah* 41₁₆, cp. 40₂₄, and *Ps.* 83₁₄: "Make them as stubble before the wind (*ruaḥ*)."

[3] Above, p. 139.

[4] Cp. H. W. Hogg on the modern Syrian method of winnowing, *Enc. Bibl.* 84: "The winnowers stand to the east of the heap and toss the *darīs* (mixed mass of grain, chopped straw and chaff) *against the wind* or straight up, or simply let it fall from the inverted fork, *according to the strength of the evening west breeze. While the chaff is blown away some ten to fifteen feet or more*, the straw falls at a shorter distance; the heavy grain . . . falls almost where it was," etc.

channels of the Euphrates to the stream of Egypt and *gather up the Israelites one by one*"; he had taken over this picturesque metaphor and enriched it by adding, from the other above-quoted texts, the idea of a winnowing of Israel, whereby the true sons of Abraham, that is the righteous ones, are to be separated from the chaff of the 'ungodly.' As in the case of the baptisms by water and fire, both the good *and* the wicked ones will be subject to the trial; but the one will remain unharmed and be gathered into the kingdom, the other will be tossed by the wind, the breath or wrath of Jahvè,[1] into the fire of condemnation.

The beneficent effect on the chosen ones of this 'mighty wind rushing down from heaven' is described in the Pentecost-story of *Acts* 2, as we are told by the author himself in the discourse of Peter (2_{17}), with regard to the prophecy of *Joel* 2_{28-32} (3_{1-5}):

> I will pour out my breath (*ruḥi*) upon all flesh; and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions; and also upon the servants and the handmaids in those days will I pour out my breath—

a prodigy, which is to precede the other signs and miracles that herald the Day of Judgment. The reader will notice, that the introduction of this text, in order to explain mystically the 'wind of judgment' (*Isaiah* 4_4) as the 'breath of Jahvè' and the 'spirit' of prophecy, perhaps also as the 'new spirit' which God is to put into the interior of the believers after having them cleansed with water (*Ezek.* 36_{27}, cp. above, p. 131 n. 1), is exactly parallel to John's alleged identification of

[1] Cp. *Exod.* $15_{8,10}$: "With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together . . . thou didst blow with thy wind, the sea covered them"; *Ps.* 18_{15}: "The foundations of the world were discovered, O Lord, at the blast of the wind of thy nostrils."

the Messianic life-giving water with the sacred Law of God, and of the fire with the Voice and Word of the Divinity, on the basis of other scriptural passages.

As to the general 'destruction,' which the same avenging blast is to bring upon the impenitent sinners, the necessary explanation is to be found in certain Midrashic traditions that mention *a third cosmic catastrophe*, to wit a *deluge of wind*, along with the watery cataclysm which befell the generation of Noe, and with the deluge of fire that destroyed the contemporaries of Lot; we read, *e.g.* in the Syrian Apology of Pseudo-Melito (*Corp. Apol.*, ed. Otto, ix. 432):

> There was once a *deluge of wind*, and the men who had been reserved for it were killed by a tremendous storm from the north, and only the just ones were left to witness the truth. Another time there was a deluge of water, all the men and animals perished but the righteous ones were preserved in the wooden ark by order of God. And just so in the Last Days, there will be a flood of fire, and the earth with all its mountains, and men with all the idols they made unto themselves, and even the sea and its islands will be set aflame, but the just ones will be saved, as their like were saved in the ark from the water of the cataclysm.[1]

The *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge, p. 40f.) and the *Cave of Treasures* (ed. Bezold, p. 32) inform us when this catastrophic 'ventilation' of the world occurred: after the deluge of water, the men of Babylon decided to build a tower as high as the sky itself, and to live on top of it in order to be safe from any future inundation of the earth. But God opened the store-houses of the winds and overthrew by fearful storms all their

[1] Cp. also the Mandæan theory (Brandt, *Mand. Rel.*, p. 123), that mankind was destroyed three times: once by the sword and the plague, when there remained only Ram and Rud; a second time by a universal conflagration, when Surbaj and Sarhabiel remained; the third time by floods of water, so that only 'Nuḥ in the Ark' survived. Also *Bereshit Rabba*, §23: 'there were three deluges'—strange enough all of water!—'one in the time of Enoch, one in Noe's time and one during the building of the Babylonian tower.'

buildings. *Only Abraham who had left the land before by a divine commandment was saved from the universal destruction.*

This story can be proved, if it is not, as the present writer believes, in the main identical with the original Jahvistic version underlying the confused account of *Genesis* 11_{1-9}, 12_{1-4} (J)—to be at least older than the Baptist's age. For in Book III. of the Sibyllines (vv. 101f.), which was written about 140 B.C., by an Egyptian Jew living in the reign of Ptolemy VII. (Physkon), there is already mention of the overthrow of the tower of Babel by an outbreak of the winds which had been held back for the purpose by the Most High. Similarly in the *Book of Jubilees* (10_{26})—a Pharisaic production of the last century before the Christian era, written in Palestine itself—the tower is destroyed by a tremendous storm. Again the same statement occurs in Josephus' *Antiqq.* I. 4, 2 (pp. 21f., ed. Bekker), in *Bereshit Rabba*, ch. 8, in *Sanhedrin* 9a, and in the *Mekhiltha Beshallah* (ed. Weiss, p. 37). Besides, in Josephus, in *Bereshit Rabba*, xxxviii. 7, in the *Mekhiltha* and in *Tanḫuma* (ed. Buber, xxviif.) the wish to escape a second deluge is given as the reason why the tower was built. A few Rabbis thought the tower had been *destroyed by a water flood* (above, p. 200, n. 1); others (*Bereshit Rabba, l.c.*, *Sanhedrin, l.c.*) that one third of it was *consumed by fire*, one third sank into the earth, one third remained as a warning for future generations. The reason for these divergencies will soon become transparent (below, p. 206).

Consequently a 'seeker' like John, who eagerly collected all possible information about the Last Things from the scriptures, and who knew this story of an aerial

cataclysm overthrowing the tower of Babel,[1] could not fail to complete the terrible series of threats, "As it was in the days of Noe" and "As it was in the days of Lot so shall it be in the days of the Son of Man," by the prophecy: As it was in the days of *Abraham*, so shall it be when the Messiah comes. They continued in their evil works and would not repent,[2] until God ordered Abraham to leave the land, and then a storm from heaven destroyed the town, and a whirlwind scattered the rebellious people helpless all over the world.[3]

The resulting idea of three subsequent complementary purgations of the world through elemental catastrophes, the last of which is to be one of fire, could then seem to correspond in a striking way with the sentence of *Zechariah* 13$_{8ff.}$:

It shall come to pass, saith the Lord, that in all the land *two parts therein shall be cut off and die;* but the third shall be left therein. And *I will bring the third part through the fire*[4] and will refine them as silver is refined, and will try them as gold is tried; [thus] they shall call on my name and I will hear them. I will say: This is my people; and they shall say: The Lord is my God.

Of course I do not mean to pretend that this highly complicated eschatology, which expects the Last Judg-

[1] The reader will not overlook that the legend about the *confusion of languages* preceding the overthrow of the Babylonian tower is an exact 'antitype' of the 'linguistic' miracle in *Acts* 2$_{4,7}$. In both cases a marvellous outpouring of the Divine Breath or Spirit exercises an overpowering influence on the spirits, voices or tongues of men.

[2] In the *Mekhiltha Beshallah Shirah*, c. 5, it is expressly stated, that before the catastrophal punishment God tried in vain to make the tower-builders repent.

[3] This feature is wanting in *Genes.* 11. See however the Arabian tradition in *Yakut* I. 448f., and in the *Lisan al Arab*, xiii. 72, translat. by D. B. Macdonald, *Jew. Enc.* xiii. 72: "God designed to each nation its appointed speech" and *then the wind scattered them all to their appointed lands.*

[4] Cp. *Sibyll. Oracles* iii. 544: 'The creator of heaven and earth will pour out *fire* on the world and only *the third part of humanity* will remain (see also *ibid.* v. 103). *Tanḥuma to Judges*, ed. Buber, 10, explains the 'third part' of *Zech.* 13$_8$ as being the nation of Israel, which alone will escape the fire of Gehenna *on account of the merits of the Patriarchs* (cp. above p. 138f.).

ment to consist in an ultimate flooding, a last ventilation and a final fiery refining of the world, and believes that these three equally necessary purifications can be anticipated by the repentant true Israelites, in the shape of three symbolic baptisms, in water, spirit and fire, could have been independently evolved by any thinker, however speculative his mind may have been, merely from those Bible-texts on which the system is based *à posteriori;* on the contrary, it is easy to see that the theory of three correlative elemental purifications and of three elemental world-catastrophes betrays a strong influence of extra-biblical ideas.

First of all, the belief in the efficacy of complementary purgings of the soul through the hostile elements of water, air and fire is common to all the Hellenistic mysteries. Before the initiate of Apuleius (*Met.* xi. 23) is deemed worthy to approach the divinity, he has to '*travel through all the elements.*' On the other hand, in Virgil's mystic description of the underworld (vi. 739ff.), we hear that some of the souls are *purified by being exposed to the winds*—even as Paolo and Francesca in Dante's purgatory; the wickedness of others is *washed away by water*, while still others are *purged through fire.* To this passage Servius, the learned commentator of the *Æneid*, adds the following instructive words:

> *Every* purgation is effected either by water or by fire or by air; therefore *in all the mysteries* you find these three methods of cleansing: they either disinfect you with (burning) sulphur (cp. above, p. 196 n. 2), or wash you with water, or *ventilate you with wind; the latter is done in the Dionysiac mysteries*—

alluding evidently to the use of the mystic *winnowing-shovel* (*liknon*) by the Bacchic initiates.[1] Accordingly,

[1] Serv. Georg. I. 165: "the mysteries purge men as a sieve the corn."

the Orphic under-world was believed to contain rivers of water, air and fire,[1] through which the souls had to pass subsequently on their pilgrimage to their final abode. A more or less distinct knowledge of such Hellenistic ideas seems to underlie John's idea of three complementary baptisms.

Still more obvious are the foreign influences on the development of the above-analysed scheme of three cosmic catastrophes, at the end of the present world's duration. We know from the Gospels (*Matt.* 19$_{28}$) that the contemporaries of John and Jesus were quite familiar with the idea of a total destruction of the world, to be followed by an equally total 'renewal' (*apokatastasis*) or 'rebirth' (*palingenesia*[2]) of the cosmos (cp. *Is.* 66$_{22}$). I have shown elsewhere how this belief in a plurality of subsequently revolving worlds developed as an essential element of the Irano-Babylonian and Old Ionian astro-mystic religion of the Æon (Zrvanism), and how intimately it is connected on the one hand with the mystic notion of Eternity, on the other hand with the astrological idea of 'great,' 'divine,' 'cosmic' or 'world'-years which was so familiar both to Old Ionian cosmology and to Stoicism, the leading philosophy of the Hellenistic age. It is indeed to Stoic authors that we owe the principal fragments of the Babylonian priestly writer Berossos, concerning the

[1] See my *Weltenmantel u. Himmelszelt*, p. 480 n. 8; with this cp. Origen, ed. Lommatzsch, v. p. 179f.: "Even as John was waiting at the shore of the Jordan for those that came to be baptised. . . . . even so *the Lord Jesus will stand in the river of fire* beside the flaming sword and will baptise in this river everyone, who wishes to enter paradise at the end of this life and is still in need of purgation," etc.; and *Ṣohar*, iv. p. 280f. (de Pauly): "Then the soul is led to the *Stream of Fire*, through which every soul must pass to be purified. Some souls are utterly consumed in it, but the worthy ones are offered as *holocausts* to the Ancient of Days"; finally Cumont, *Astrology and Religion*, New York, 1912, p. 192f. and the funeral monument reproduced on our plate.

[2] = *Ḥadata 'Alma* in the Kaddish Prayer.

duration of the 'world-years' and the final catastrophes which divide one 'æon' from the next.[1]

This essentially astrological theory presupposes a certain position of the stars at the beginning or creation of the world, which is called the '*thema mundi.*' As soon as this position is repeated through the eternal revolution of the sky, the world-process has reached its natural end and begins again, proceeding precisely in the same way as in the first age.[2] *Every* such cosmic revolution or world-year *has its tropical points*, just as a single solar year. When the sun, in its annual course, reaches the Lion or the Crab, we note the summer solstice of each year, with its dry 'fiery' weather; on the contrary, when the sun passes through Capricorn, the Fishes, or through Aquarius, the ancients experienced the 'watery' rainfalls of a southern winter. Consequently, says Berossos, when once *all the planets* meet in the watery part of the zodiac, a universal deluge is bound to come over the world; if they all congregate in the opposite part of the zodiac, the result is the dreaded '*ekpyrōsis*' or world-conflagration, etc.[3] It is obvious that these speculations offered a plausible explanation both for the biblical accounts of past catastrophes, such as the cataclysm of Noah's generation or the conflagration of Sodom and Gomorrah in the days of Lot, and for the prophetic descriptions of the ultimate judgment, whether it was expected to be brought about by water

[1] Cp. Bidez, *Bérose et la grande Année*, Mélanges, Paul Frédericq, Bruxelles, 1904, pp. 9-17.

[2] Thus it comes about, that the future Messiah could be believed to be the repetition or rather reincarnation (Samarit. *ta'eb=redivivus*) of some hero of the past, a new Noe or Joseph, a new Moses or Joshua, a new David or Jonah, a new Elias, etc. Cp. above, p. 184, n. 2.

[3] Cp. on the belief in recurring world-catastrophes and the corollary notion of world-years, Hugo Gressmann, *l.c.*, p. 167ff., where however the third, aerial, deluge is not considered.

or by fire. Of course it depended on rather arbitrary suppositions, about the '*thema mundi*' and the probable length of the 'great year,' whether the cataclysm of the present world was foreseen as a conflagration or as an inundation, an uncertainty which is clearly reflected by the Rabbinic legend, that Noah was asked by his contemporaries, whether the flood he foretold to them would be one of fire or water, or by that other curious tradition, that the Noahic flood was one of *boiling* water.[1] But the decisive feature of these speculations for our present purpose is the fact, that the watery and the fiery deluge do not exhaust the circle of possibilities. For the usual division of the solar year among the ancients was neither one of summer and winter, which is used by Berossos, nor the now common scheme of four seasons, but a tripartite one that distinguished spring, summer and winter.[2] The climatic character of each of these seasons was explained, by the astrological doctrine, on the principle of a predominance of either the watery element—in winter—or the fiery one—in summer—or finally of the air in the spring,[3] which is in fact regularly characterised by the great equinoctial storms all around the Mediterranean. Consequently the third elemental world-catastrophe, *an overthrow of the cosmos by gigantic storms, was also held necessary once in the course of each æon.*

It is this system which John seems to have used —whether for the first time or not, we cannot say—in

[1] Cp. also above, p. 201, the uncertainty of the Jewish sages about the question, whether the tower of Babel was destroyed by water (above, p. 200, n. 1), by wind or by fire.

[2] Cp. Homer *Il.* III. 3, *Od.* τ 519, γ 118; Hesiod, *Opp.* 448ff., Aeschyl. *Prometh.* 453. Three seasons were distinguished by the Egyptians, Diodor. I. 11, 16, 26, and the Teutons, Tacit. *Germ.* 26. See Ideler's *Chronology* I. 243-250.

[3] See the passages from Greek astrological manuscripts and from the Jewish *Sepher Yeṣirah* and the *Ṣohar* in my book *Weltenmantel*, ii. 451$_{4,5}$.

order to harmonise the different and apparently contradictory prophetic descriptions about the Last Judgment of the whole creation, which was to be brought about, according to one opinion through the 'flowing scourge' of a deluge, according to another through the 'wind of judgment' and 'destruction,' according to a third through an unquenchable fire. The resulting scheme, which he expresses both openly in the words, "I sprinkle you with water, He will cleanse you with wind and fire," and allegorically through his agricultural similes, means to convey the impressive notion of *a triple elemental 'baptism'* and purifying '*apokatastasis*' of the world, that is to precede its renewal and final 'rebirth' for eternity, in order on the one hand to destroy gradually and completely the sinners, and to serve on the other hand as a sacramental 'regeneration' for the chosen remnant of true, repentant Israel, even as God had purified the world through water, wind and fire in the primeval days of Noe, Lot and Abraham.

XXVII.

THE FISH-MEAL IN THE CHRISTIAN CATACOMB PICTURES.

THE early Christian fish-symbolism has been analysed in the preceding chapters, especially with regard to the original meaning of the baptismal rite. This curious circle of mystic allegorism is not, however, confined to the esoteric doctrine of the Christian initiatory ceremony; as has been occasionally[1] observed before, it is essentially connected also with the eucharist, the central sacrament of Christianity.

Indeed even the earliest extant figure of the Messianic fisherman in the 'Gallery of the Flavians'[2]—dating from the last decades of the 1st century A.D.[3]—is found in immediate juxtaposition not only with the mystic symbols of the baptismal initiatory *logos*-drink, namely the 'lamb and milkpail' group, but also with the following interesting picture of an evidently *sacramental fish-meal.* In spite of the seriously damaged state of the monument, we can still distinguish, beyond any possibility of doubt, two beardless men, sitting on a couch, one talking to the other, and a server approaching them from the right with a jug in his hands. On the little three-footed table before the guests lies the repast—*a fish and three small round loaves of bread.*[4] As the pictures of the lamb and the

[1] Above, p. 66. [2] Above, pp. 61f. and corr. plate. [3] Above, p. 76, n. 1.
[4] See Wilpert, *Malereien der Katacomben Roms.* pl. vii. 3 and our plate.

milkpail allude to the milk-drink of the neophyte, while the fisherman symbolises the spiritual catching and the baptism of the convert, we are amply justified in attributing beforehand to the fish-and-bread meal of the two believers as well the character of a sacrament, the dominating importance of which is emphasised by the central position of this remarkable painting in the decorative scheme of the whole vault.

The same sacred meal is evidently intended in the catacombs of S. Lucina (2nd century A.D.), where has been discovered[1] a still-life painting of *two fish and two baskets of bread* and between the bread in the baskets a *glass cup of red wine*—the latter suggesting by analogy the probable contents of the jug of the server in the first mentioned picture.

Again, in the so-called 'chapels of the sacrament,' in the catacombs of S. Callisto (1st half of the 3rd century A.D.), while the figure of the fisher is once found with a pictorial representation of the baptismal rite, in another instance[2] it is combined with a painting that depicts *seven youths* reclining round a table and partaking of *two large fish* on plates before them on the table. Beside the table we notice *eight* baskets full of bread, four on each side.

A similar composition can be found on the ceiling of the same catacomb; but this time we see *two loaves and one fish* on a tripod, with *three baskets of bread* standing on the one, and *four* on the other side of it.[3]

In an adjacent chamber also there is a picture of a man and a woman and between them again a three-legged table. The woman turns towards the table and raises her arms in an attitude of prayer.[3] Among

[1] See our reproductions from Wilpert, plate xxviii.

[2] See plate reproduced from Wilpert, pl. xxvii. [3] See our plates.

the different dishes on the table we see *a loaf of bread and a fish.* The man is *taking hold of the fish* and of another loaf placed underneath it.

In the so-called Greek Chapel of the Priscilla cemetery (beginning of the 2nd century A.D.), the meal is celebrated *on a lawn.* A pillow is laid *on the grass* in an open hemicycle; before it stand *a cup and two plates,* in the one *two fish,* in the other *five loaves. Seven persons* partake of the meal, *among them a woman.* On both sides of the *symposion* we see *baskets of bread,* three on the left, four on the right (see plate).

As abbreviated symbols of this same meal-sacrament the joint images of fish and bread occur beyond doubt not infrequently in early Christian funeral inscriptions. In the catacombs of Plautilla, for instance, on the road to Ostia, a freed slave of the Flavian family, Titus Flavius Eutyches, is buried. His epitaph ends with the words: 'Farewell, beloved!' and with the crude glyphs of *two loaves and two fishes.*[1] Another stone-slate with *two fishes and five loaves,* found in the cemetery of S. Hermes, in 1845, is now in the Museo Kircheriano.[2]

[1] A. de Waal, *Roma sacra,* p. 63.

[2] H. Achelis, *Das Symbol des Fisches,* pp. 97f.

XXVIII.

THE GOSPELS ON JESUS FEEDING THE PEOPLE WITH BREAD AND FISH.

THE literary remains that can be compared with these monuments, begin with two texts (A and B) that are found incorporated respectively in *Mark* 6[34-44] and *Mark* 8[1-9].

A.	B.
And Jesus, when he came out [*sc.* from the ship], saw much people, and was *moved with compassion* towards them, because they were as sheep not having a shepherd, and *he began to teach them* many things.	In those days the multitude being very great and having nothing to eat, Jesus called his disciples unto him and saith unto them: *I have compassion* on the multitude, because they have now been with me three days and have nothing to eat.
And when the day was now far spent, his disciples came unto him and said: This is a desert place and now *the time is far passed.* Send them away, that they may go to the country round about and into the villages and buy themselves bread. For they have nothing to eat.	And if I send them away fasting to their own houses they will faint by the way; some of them have come from far.
He answered and said unto them: Give ye them to eat. And they said unto him: Shall we go and buy *two hundred* pennyworth of bread and give them to eat?	And his disciples answered him: From whence can a man satisfy these with bread here in the wilderness?

He said unto them: How many loaves have ye? Go and see. And when they knew, they say: *Five, and two fishes.*	And he asked them: How many *loaves* have ye? And they said: *Seven.*
And he commanded them to make all sit down by companies *upon the green grass.*	And he commanded the people to sit down *on the ground.*
And they sat down *like garden-beds one after the other* by hundreds and by fifties.	
And when he had taken the five loaves *and the two fishes*, he looked up to heaven and said the blessing, brake the loaves[1] and divided the two fishes for all of them.	And he took the seven loaves said grace, and brake and *gave to his disciples to set before* [them]; and *they did set* [the bread] *before the people.*[2]
And they did all eat and were filled. And they took up *twelve baskets full of fragments.*[2]	So they did eat and were filled. And they took up of the crumbs that were left *seven baskets.*
And they that did eat of the loaves and of the fishes[3] were[4] five thousand men.	And they that had eaten were about four thousand.

[1] The following words, "and gave [them] to his disciples to set before them," are taken over from the other version. There is no reason why Jesus should distribute the fishes personally, but the loaves with the aid of the Twelve. Besides the interpolation mars the significant antithesis, which has been set forward in v. 37, namely that the disciples *cannot* feed the multitude, while the Lord himself *is* able to assuage their hunger. In B this contrast is wanting in the dialogue, so that in this version there is no objection to the intercession of the disciples in the *rôle* of the later 'deacons.'

[2] *Mark* 8₇, which follows, "and they had a few small fishes and he blessed them and commanded to set them also before [the people]," is evidently an inorganic interpolation with regard to the fishes mentioned in the parallel account. The proof is, that the fishes are not even mentioned in he preceding dialogue of v. 5, an omission which was noticed and corrected by *Matt.* 15₃₄.

[3] The words "and of the fishes" are entirely out of place after "fragments," because they would presuppose the words "of the bread" in the preceding part of the sentence. They are necessary however in v. 44. They have evidently been transposed into the wrong line by a scribe's error.

[4] "About" in some manuscripts is taken from B; A has *the exact number*, because of the ranks of 50 and 100 men in v. 40.

These two parallel stories, which are both referred to as relating two different events in a pretended and very obscure[1] 'saying of the Lord' (*Mark* $8_{19f.}$),[2] must be *considerably anterior to our oldest gospel*, since they show traces of having been harmonised to a certain extent by additions from one to the other and *vice versa*. Such a proceeding would, of course, never have been attempted by a compiler who took A and B as accounts of two different feeding-miracles. The retouchings cannot, therefore, be due to *Mark* or to the unknown author who made up $8_{19f.}$,[2] but rather to an earlier generation of readers, who found A and B beyond doubt already in two different *written* gospels.

A third account (C) of a fish-meal celebrated by Jesus—this time after his resurrection—seems to have been contained in the now lost conclusion of *Mark*.[3] Of this we still possess a somewhat retouched[4] copy from the hand of the last editor of the fourth gospel (*John* 21_{1-14}).

Just as, in the Flavian gallery, the fish-meal is placed beside the figure of the Messianic fisher and the milk-symbol of baptism, and just as the fisher and the baptismal scene are combined with the fish-meal in

[1] Cp. above p. 118, n. 1.

[2] "When I broke the *five* loaves among *five thousand*, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up? They say unto him, *Twelve*. And when the *seven* loaves among *four thousand*, how many baskets full of fragments took ye up? And they said, *Seven*. And he said unto them, How is it that you do not understand?"—Alas, even now we must say, if we are sincere, How is it that we do not understand this calculation?

[3] Cp. above p. 111, n. 1.

[4] In v. 7 the introduction of the "beloved disciple" is certainly due to the editor, who must have added the words: "Therefore that disciple whom Jesus loved saith unto Peter, It is the Lord," and changed the sentence "Hence Simon Peter, who *understood* that it was the Lord," etc., into "Simon Peter *heard*, that it was the Lord." Similarly in v. 11 the close, "and for all there were so many, yet was not the net broken," can only have been written a long time after *Luke* 5₆. Cp. above pp. 108, 111. All the rest of the chapter may well belong to the original end of *Mark*.

S. Callisto, even so do we find in C the previously analysed story of the miraculous draught of 153 fishes[1] prefixed to the picturesque scene of how the seven disciples Peter, Thomas, Nathanael, the two sons of Zebedee and two other unnamed ones, on approaching the shore, see a heap of glowing coals and a fish roasting on them, and a loaf of bread. All of *them* know, that it is the Lord who bids them: "'Come and breakfast'; and he taketh the bread and giveth them and the fish likewise."

In *Matthew*, A and B are copied with unimportant, however significant, stylistic corrections; C is omitted. *Luke*, however, returns to the original position of those readers who correctly understood A and B to refer to the same event. He reproduces only A as the more explicit version, adding the doubtlessly symbolic statement, that the feeding took place in Beth-Saida, the 'house of fishing,' omitting however the symbolic 'two hundred pennyworth of bread' in the speech of the disciples. As to C, he inserts the story of the miraculous draught—again *without the symbolic number* of 153 fishes—in the chapter on the calling of the first apostles. The meal-scene itself is replaced by an analogous tale (D) with a slightly different tendency; it relates (*Luke* 24_{41}) how the risen Lord appears to his disciples and says unto them:

> Have ye here any meat? and they gave him *a piece of a broiled fish* <and of an *honey-comb*>. And he took it and did eat before them <and gave them of it>.[2]

As to *John*, we owe to him—or rather his continuator and editor—the preservation of C from the

[1] Cp. above pp. 118f.

[2] The words in brackets are only contained in minor manuscripts.

lost conclusion of *Mark*. Of the parallel accounts A and B he has, like *Luke*, copied only the first—with the addition of a few details. He knows that the loaves were *made of barley*. He further tries to establish an ideal relation of the fish-meal with the Lord's supper properly so-called, by putting its date expressly *shortly before the passover*. As the fourth gospel is well known to omit deliberately the synoptic 'institution of the eucharist' at Jesus' last passover-meal, the evangelist has evidently intended to convey the idea, that the fish-meal of that one evening 'shortly before the passover' was *the real* 'Lord's supper.' This is evident also in the sermon at Capernaum about the eating of the Christ as the bread from heaven, which follows the fish-meal-story in *John*, and stands in the place of the 'many things' that Jesus 'taught' the five thousand according to *Mark*.

XXIX.

THE FISH EATING IN THE 'AGAPÆ' OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

Even the most perfunctory comparison of the cited monuments from the Roman catacombs with our texts will convince the reader that these earliest extant pictures of the sacramental fish-meal are *by no means illustrative* of the evangelical tradition of such an incident in the history of Jesus. In none of *these* pictures do we find one of the persons distinguished in such a way as to suggest the artist's intention of characterising the Saviour himself.[1] Neither can we take the little society, represented in all these compositions as partaking of the sacred meal, for the disciples of Jesus, since in one of the quoted cases a woman is seen among them.[2] Besides, the always recurring regular hemicyclic eating-couch and the carefully-laid table with its plates are not at all in harmony with the traditions about those *improvised* 'feedings' in the gospels. The most picturesque details of the gospel-texts—such as the fish on the coal-fire or the multitude grouped as it were in regular garden-beds—are nowhere to be traced in the monuments.

[1] Cp. on the contrary the frequently recurring composition (Wilpert, p. 292ff. plates 45, 54, 68, 74), where a beardless standing male figure is seen to touch baskets of bread with what seems to be a magic rod. *Here* it is quite possible to understand the scene with Wilpert and other authors as the multiplication of the bread by Jesus. Indeed I believe myself, that this *is* the meaning of *this* composition. [2] Wilpert p. 28f.

The conclusion of this is, not that the aforementioned texts were unknown to the catacomb-painters,[1] but that they did not think in their meal-pictures of illustrating *them;* what they portrayed was simply *a ritual fish-and-bread-banquet, as the Christians still used to celebrate it at the time when these pictures were made.*[2] As this religious meal was—according to the monuments—not confined merely to fish and bread, it can easily be identified with the so-called '*agapæ*' or 'love-feasts' of the earliest Church, which were given up later on for reasons that do not interest us here.

Those few features that *seem* to be derived from the gospels, can much better be accounted for in an entirely different way. The number *seven* of the partakers of the meal, for instance, must not have anything to do with *John* 21_2, since we know from Augustine[3] that in this very passage the *seven* disciples were understood as symbolising the '*universal*' Church, an explanation that is perfectly justified by the well-known oriental use of the number 'seven' to denote 'a great many'[4] or a totality.[5] In the Jewish Church, to the present day, a ceremony is not valid unless at least *ten* grown-up men are present. The author of *John* 21_2, as well as the unknown painters of these catacomb frescoes, may well have been influenced by the idea of *seven* persons being necessary to make up a sacramental *symposion.* As to the baskets full of bread, which have always been supposed to derive from

[1] Cp. n. 1 on preceding page.

[2] Cp. Dean Plumptre in Smith-Cheetham's *Dict. Christ. Biog. s.v.* 'Agapæ,'

[3] Migne, *P. L.*, 35_{1966}

[4] Cp. *Deut.* 7_1, . . "*many nations* . . . the Hittites and the Girgashites and the Amorites and the Canaanites and the Perizzites and the Hivites and the Jebusites, *seven nations* greater and mightier than thou." See Wilpert, p. 286, on the 'herd' of seven 'sheep.'

[5] Hehn, *Siebenzahl u. Sabbat* (Liepzig, 1907), pp. 5ff.

that characteristic detail in the gospels about the feeding of the multitude, how can this be, if in one case (above, p. 209) the painter does not show us *seven* or *twelve* baskets, as we should expect according to *Mark* 8_{19}, but *eight*, four on each side of the table, so that no casual error about the number is admissible? On the other hand, the representation of the baskets in these pictures can again be explained quite independently from these bible-passages. We know from discussions in the Mishna (*Berakhoth* 8_4, *Bēṡā* 2_7) that it was customary at the regular meals in a household to *sweep up the crumbs* that had fallen 'between the couches' after each course.[1] At a sacramental eating of *consecrated food*—especially of such mysterious character as the eucharistic bread and the broiled fish, which Augustine[2] identifies with the body of the suffering Christ—nothing could be more natural than that even these smallest morsels of the meal should be *reverently* collected and put up in baskets, so "that nothing be lost" (*John* 6_{12}), even as nowadays in the Catholic Church minute precautions are prescribed so that not the smallest crumb of the consecrated wafers may be wasted. If the seven guests of our pictures represent, as they probably do, a great 'many' partakers of the sacred meal, it is quite natural that baskets full of remains should have been collected during the '*agapē*.' Besides, we must not forget, that in the catacomb of S. Lucina the two baskets are certainly *not* meant to contain the crumbs or remains of the bread, but the still unbroken sacred

[1] According to *Pesah.* 111b., *Ḫul.* 105b., a special good spirit, named Nakid=Cleanliness, was believed to bless with plenty him who lets no crumbs of bread lie on the ground.

[2] Migne, *P.L.*, 35_{1966}. Cp. the parallel sayings of other Fathers in Dölger *Ichthys*, p. 42.

loaves themselves[1] together with the cup of wine. Consequently in the meal-scenes, too, the baskets could contain the fresh eatables, that is, the contributions of the different partakers to their picnic-like common repast, and not at all the crumbs which are so familiar to the spectator from his knowledge of the analogous gospel-stories.

Nowhere in the whole New Testament is an incident to be found to which could be referred those two meal-pictures where only two persons partake of the bread and the fish; and little wonder, if all the above-described paintings do not represent any incident from the evangelical history, but *contemporary* meal-ceremonies of the earliest Christian Church. In fact, the nearest analogies to the S. Callisto fresco, with the man before the table and the woman turning in an attitude of blessing towards the fish, which is held by the man, will be found in two early Christian funeral inscriptions. A certain Aberkios—probably the Bishop of Hieropolis (about 180 A.D.)—says in his epitaph:

Paul I chose as my guide. *Faith*[2] led the way and *gave me everywhere for food a fish* from a fountain, a great, great one, a clean one, whom a holy virgin had caught.[3] That one she (sc. Faith) gave ever to eat to the 'Friends.' Having *good wine* and offering it, mingled with water together *with bread*

Another early Christian epitaph, of one Pectorios, found at Autun, in 1839 (in the Greek original an

[1] The same statement applies also to the composition described above, p. 216 n. 1, since the man touching the baskets with the magic rod cannot, of course, intend to multiply the crumbs. That bread was usually carried and kept in baskets is clear from *Genesis* 40$_{16}$. Cp. *Sotah* 48b: "He who having *bread in his basket* still says, what shall we eat to-morrow, is one of those of little faith" and S. Jerome, *Epist. ad Rustic.*, n. 20 p. 947, Vall.; "He who carries *the body of the Lord in the wicker-basket* and his blood in the glass-cup."

[2] In Greek, *Pistis*—a female personification reminding us immediately of the woman blessing the fish in the S. Callisto picture.

[3] On the *Fish caught* (that means *conceived*) *by the virgin* see chapter XXXIV. below.

acrostichon forming the word ἰχθυς = fish) says to the reader:

> Divine race of the Heavenly Fish,
> Among all the mortal ones, take and *taste the* [one] *immortal spring of the god-given waters.*
> Refresh, O Friend, thy soul with the ever-flowing flood of blissful wisdom.
> Take the Saviour's *honey-like* food, the meat of the Saints.
> *Eat, O starving one,*[1] *holding the fish in thy hands.*[2]

The reader will observe that both inscriptions mention a sacred drink—wine in the one, water[3] in the other—to be consumed together with the fish and the bread, and that they tally in this respect with the monuments, while on the contrary none of the fish-meal stories in the New Testament contains the slightest mention of any beverage distributed by Jesus.

Considering all these circumstances no reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the fact that the earliest Church was wont to celebrate a mystic fish-meal, which seems to have been closely related to, but not identical with, the properly so-called eucharistic rite of the 'bread-breaking.' As no such rite is practised in the communion services of any modern Christian Church, we must either conclude that it has completely fallen into oblivion in a later stage of Christian history or—*identify it resolutely with the private observance of a fish-diet* which is still *enjoined for every Friday* by the Roman Catholic as well as by the Eastern Churches.

[1] This alludes to *Isaiah* 55 1 (below p. 236).

[2] Cp. the man holding the fish in our reproduction of the S. Callisto fresco.

[3] On the use of pure water instead of the eucharistic wine in certain early Christian churches see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I., 19, 96. Epiphan., *Panarion* xxx. 16; xlii. 3; xlvi. 2; xlvii. 1; Cyprian, *Epist.* 35.

XXX.

THE SABBATIC FISH-MEAL OF THE JEWS AND THE BANQUET OF THE LAST DAYS.

As to the origin of this latter custom, we know for certain that the Christians have taken it over from the Jews, with whom it obtains up to the present day, and that, too, to such an extent, that in Galicia, for instance, one can see Israelite families, in spite of their being reduced to the extremest misery, procuring *on Fridays* a single gudgeon to eat, divided into minute fragments, *at night-fall.*[1] This practice, which is not enjoined by any Mosaic law, can be traced back to the earliest post-exilic times.[2] Whence the Jews in their turn derived it, can easily be guessed from the fact that this fish-eating is celebrated both by Christians and Jews *on Fridays.* As late as in the sixteenth century A.D. a Rabbi, Salomon Luria, raised a protest against this, and admonished his co-religionists to eat the customary fish-meal on the Sabbath itself and *not* on Fridays (Sabbath eve) as they used to do,[3] and still persist in

[1] Cp. Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus, Hist. générale des Religions* (Paris, 1909), p. 29; Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 150.

[2] Cp. *Nehemiah* 13$_{16}$: "There dwelt men of Tyre also therein (*sc.* in Jerusalem), *who brought fish* and sold them *on the Sabbath* unto the children of Judah and in Jerusalem." The Talmud says that one must eat big fishes in honour of the Sabbath (*Sabbāt* 118c; *Jalḳut* to *Is.* 58), mentions the piety of a man who always bought the most beautiful fish for the Sabbath, and states that of the two dishes of a holyday meal the one shall always consist of fish (*Mishna Bēṣa* 2, 1; *Talm. Bēṣa* 17c). *Bread, wine and fish* as sabbatic dishes are also praised in the mediæval sabbath-songs. On all these texts see Scheftelowitz, *Arch. f. Relig. Wiss.* xiv. p. 19f.

[3] Scheftelowitz *l.c.*

doing. Now everybody knows that Friday—*Dies Veneris, Venerdi, Vendredi*—is so called, because the day with the ancients was sacred to the goddess of the planet Venus, to Ištar, or, as the Sabians of Ḥarrān in Mesopotamia call the lady of this day, to *Beltis*. The Rabbis were of course strongly prejudiced against this system of dedicating the days of the week to the Pagan gods—Šamas (Sun), Sin (Moon), Nergal (Mars), Nabu (Mercury), Bel (Jupiter), Beltis and Ninib (Saturn)—and therefore opposed it by attributing the tutelage of the single days to the seven archangels Raphael, Gabriel, Sammael, Michael, Izidkiel, Ḫanael and Kephirel.[1] Nearly all of these names, however, are transparent disguises of the divinities those angels were to supplant. Kephir-el, for instance, is 'Lion-god,' because of the lion-headed god Saturn (Ninib) of Saturday, Micha-el, the 'Balance-god,'[2] stands for the soul-weighing Mercury, Hermes or Nabu, etc. Similarly Ḫana-el, who is thought to preside over Friday, can be easily recognised as the well-known Babylonian Fish-goddess Ḫana or Iš-ḫana[3] or Nina, the Ištar of Ninive, the Atargatis of the Syrians. As fish-sacrifices to this divinity and fish-meals of her worshippers are well attested,[4] it becomes exceedingly plausible that the Jews grew accustomed to their Friday fish-eating during the Babylonian exile. Later on the Pagan character of this rite was of course completely obliterated, and the fish were eaten in 'honour of the Sabbath,' just as throughout modern Europe Christmas,

[1] Weber, *Altsynagogale paläst. Theologie*, p. 164; 2nd ed. (1897), p. 169.

[2] See for this etymology the author's *Weltenmantel*, p. 267 n. 8.

[3] Cp. on this divinity, Hommel's Appendix, '*Die Schwurgöttin Išḫanna*,' to the Rev. Sam. A. B. Mercer's 'The Oath in Babylonian Literature' (Paris, Geuthner, 1912).

[4] See Dölger, *Ichthys*, pp. 430f.

Epiphany or St. John's Day are being celebrated with primeval Pagan ceremonies of forgotten meaning and origin.

The hypothesis that the fish-meal represented in the catacomb paintings is to be explained as this customary Jewish and Christian fish-eating on the Sabbath eve, enables us also—and this is its chief merit—to account for the bread and the cup of wine that go with the fish, as well in the paintings as in the corresponding inscription. For another indispensable feature of the Jewish sabbath eve's supper is the '*hallah*,' the loaf of newly-baked bread,[1] which is called '*barkhath*,'[2]='blessing,' by the modern Jews, and a cup of wine, named '*kōs šel berākhā*,' or 'cup of blessing.'[3] The 'blessing' referred to is in both cases the

[1] According to *Ta'an*, 24b. the housewife bakes the new bread for the whole week on Friday afternoon. Sometimes—in Austria and Poland for instance—the *hallah* is sprinkled with poppy seed, probably because the poppy is sacred to the same Great Mother goddess, as is the fish.

[2] Either from *birkhath*, construed state of *berākhah*=blessing (that name as well as another—*tascher*—is popularly derived from *Prov.* x. 22: 'BIRKHATH *Adōnai hi* TA'ASHIR'='the blessing of the Lord maketh rich') or a dialect pronounciation of the plural *berakhōth*='blessings.' Cp. Syriac *burctho*=εὐλογία, as the blessed bread, the *pain béni* of France is even nowadays called in the Syrian Church (see on this word O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895, p. 341, n. *). Wilpert *Fractio Panis*, Freiburg i. B. 1895, p. 11f. has reproduced a fresco painting from an Alexandrinian catacomb, which shows above an altar the miraculous multiplication of the fish and the bread. One sees the apostles Peter and Andrew with an inscription, which runs '*tas eulogias tou Christou esthiontes*'='eating the *berakōth* of the Messiah.' The meaning is not, of course, that they ate 'the blessings' of the Christ, but the plural *eulogiai* denotes simply the 'eulogised' *food*, which can indeed be eaten, even as the Syrian *burctho* and the Jewish *berakhōth* technically denote the blessed *bread* and not the blessing itself. See further Cyril of Jerusalem, *Cat.* iii, 13, 6, where he says of Judas: "Just now his hands had received *the eulogies* (tas eulogias=the blessed bread) and already he merited his death through the money of treason." Cp. the same author in Migne, *P.G.* 74, 140; Suicer, *Thesaurus*, *s.v. eulogia*; A. Struckmann, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Cyrill von Alexandrien*, 1910, p. 137. It goes without saying that the use of the word *eucharistia(i)*='thanksgiving(s)' for the consecrated and broken Friday loaf is quite parallel to that of the expression '*eulogia(i)*' for the same object.

[3] Mentioned under this very name (Greek: *potērion eulogias*) in *I. Cor.* 10_{16}. A fragment of such a sabbath cup for blessing wine, made of guilt glass, is reproduced on the plate corresponding to this page.

regular Jewish formula of 'thanksgiving for the fruit of the earth' and 'for the fruit of the vine.' It was the rule on Sabbaths, as well as on all holydays, to 'sanctify' (*kiddush*)[1] the principal meals by 'blessing' wine and bread in the following way: The '*berākhā*,' or 'thanksgiving,' is first pronounced over the aforementioned cup of wine, which is then handed round to all the partakers. Then the 'blessing' is said over two loaves of bread, one of which is broken and divided in morsels for the company. Great importance is attributed to this ceremonial by the Rabbis:

> Whoever says the blessing over a full cup of wine, will get his share in this and in the other life (*Berākhōth*, 51a).

The real motive, however, for representing so often this sabbatic meal of fish, bread and wine on the walls of early Christian sepulchres will be found in certain important texts,[2] from which we gather that the Jews *conceived the bliss of the future Messianic reign under the image of a great banquet,*[3] *the main course of which consists of a dish of fish.*[4] At the end of the meal God will give to the most worthy, to King David, the '*cup of blessing*'—*n.b.* one of fabulous dimensions—and *he* will pronounce the thanksgiving over it.

The origin of this idea—which recurs also in the Mahomedan eschatology[5]—is of course to be looked for in the theory, based on *Jeremiah* 25_{11}, 29_{10} and *Daniel*

[1] On this '*kiddush*' rite as underlying the ceremonial described in the synoptic account of the Last Supper, cp. Box, 'Jewish Antecedents of the Eucharist,' *Journ. Theol. Studies*, 1902, pp. 357ff. and G. Loeschke, Zeitschr. f. wiss. Theolog. 1912, pp. 200ff.

[2] Scheftelowitz *l.c.* (above p. 168, n. 2).

[3] *Se'udat* or 'banquet' is indeed one of the many metaphoric names for the 'Kingdom' in the Rabbinic literature.

[4] This is the reason, why single fishes, and whole baskets full of fishes, are found painted on the vaults of the Jewish catacombs in the Vigna Rondanini along the Appian Road (Dölger, *Ichthys*, p. 122).

[5] Scheftelowitz, p. 38, n. 3.

$9_{27ff.}$, that the Messianic age will dawn at the end of seventy *weeks of years*, so that it may deservedly be called a great or *world's Sabbath*.[1] Consequently, as Sabbath eve is celebrated by the faithful week after week by a meal with a dish of fish, and inaugurated with the '*kiddush*,' the blessing and breaking of bread and the thanksgiving over the cup, even so will the chosen *after their final resurrection eat fish*,[2] *break the bread and bless the cup* on the eve of the final Sabbath, when the days of the Kingdom begin. It is, beyond doubt, the *hope of partaking in this final Messianic sabbath-meal* which the funeral art of early Christianity has tried to express in the before-cited banquet-scenes.

[1] Cp. also the 'chiliastic' theory (*Barnabas' Epistle* ch. xv., *Sanhedrin* 97a), that the present world is to last six of the 'days of God' (*Psalm* 90_4, 2 *Peter* 3_8), that is 6,000 years. Then follows the last Millennium as the Sabbath of creation or Great Sabbath of the Lord—the Messianic reign of 1,000 years.

[2] A mediæval Jewish writing (Scheftelowitz *l.c.* p. 20. n. 2) says expressly that the sabbatic fish-meal is an anticipation of the Messianic fish-banquet.

XXXI.

THE TEACHING OF JESUS ON THE MESSIANIC 'FOOD FROM HEAVEN.'

As the archæology of Christian origins would be entirely wrong in considering the pictures analysed in ch. xxvii. as simple illustrations to the evangelic feeding-stories—losing thereby the opportunity of properly utilising some of the most ancient and valuable witnesses about the nature of the primitive Christian '*agapē*'—so should we also be ill-advised, if we yielded to the temptation to neglect these same traditions as entirely devoid of historical value and biographical interest, merely because it might now appear possible to take them as nothing more than projections of the customary fish-and-bread meal of the earliest Church into the earthly life of the Christ—invented in order to justify the preservation of this originally Jewish rite by the example of Jesus, just as the command of the risen Lord—"Go ye and baptise all nations," etc.—has been arbitrarily inserted into the concluding verses of *Matthew*, in order to lend the authority of Jesus to the Christian development of the baptism of John and his disciples. For in that case *we should expect a mention of the 'cup of blessing,'* and above all—if not in A or B at least in C or D—*an express order of Jesus, to repeat for ever this fish-and-bread meal*, analogous to the word: "This do ye in

remembrance of me" (*1 Cor.* 10[25] and *Luke* 22[19]), in the Pauline account of the Last Supper.

In pursuing therefore resolutely this further line of research, we shall best start from the feeding of the 4,000 (B), where—in the original text—no mention occurred of any fish.[1] To understand this tradition, we must remember that the popular Jewish eschatology expected the Messiah to repeat the Mosaic miracle of the Manna,[2] just as the Christ was expected to renew the marvellous production of life-giving water from the bare rock in the wilderness.[3] Hunger and thirst—this is of course the meaning of these hopes—will be unknown in the Kingdom of God, where a miraculous fertility is to reign throughout: the earth will bring forth her fruits in myriads; a single vine will have a thousand branches; every branch of it a thousand clusters; every cluster a thousand grapes; and every grape will yield a barrel of wine. They who have been hungry will have plenty to eat, for in those times the manna will fall again from heaven, and they that live to see the end of the times, will again eat of it.[4] A wheat-ear will grow higher than the mountains of Judah; yet it will not be difficult to harvest its grains, for God will send a wind, to scatter the 'corn from heaven' (*Psalm* 72[6])—changed already into flour—all over the earth,[5] etc.

Even if the fourth gospel (*Jn.* 6[31f.]) did not expressly compare the multiplication of the bread by Jesus to

[1] Cp. above p. 212, n. 3.

[2] Cp. Jean Réville, *Le 4ème Evangile*, p. 175 (2nd ed. p. 178).

[3] "As the first Goēl (=Moses) has produced a fountain, so will the second one bring forth water" (Schoetgen, *Der wahre Messias*, I. 361). See also the expression 'the waters of the Messiah' in *Eccl. R.* 1, 9.

[4] Syrian *Apocalypsis of Baruch*, ch. 29, ed. Charles, p. 54. Cp. Fragm. of Papias in *Iren.* v. 33[3].

[5] 2 *Kethuboth* 111b.

the manna-miracle of Moses, we should not fail to perceive that the story of the miraculous feeding of the multitude is intended to show that *Jesus was indeed the true Messiah, who could at will feed as many of the hungry in Israel as he chose.* The multiplication itself is well known to be modelled on the prototype of an Elisha-legend in 2 *Kings* 4[42, 44].[1] Indeed it is only with regard to this prototypic passage, that the fourth gospel makes the multiplied loaves consist *of barley*. Because Elisha lets his servant 'set before' the people, Jesus does not himself distribute the bread, but orders the Twelve to 'set' the bread 'before' the multitude—an artificial method of composition, the result of which is best characterised by the criticism of a small schoolboy, who remarked indignantly to his father: "Now isn't it too bad, dad, that the apostles themselves did not get anything to eat and yet it was *their* bread that the Lord Jesus gave to the other men!"[2] Indeed, as Jean Réville[3] has acutely observed, the disciples anachronistically act in this story the *rôle* of the later 'deacons' (*Acts* 6[1-6]) in the ceremonial of a Christian '*agapē*.' Still more influenced by the familiar notion of a Christian 'love-feast' is the detail of the fragments that are collected in the baskets. The Elisha-legend says only that the hundred men ate and left of the bread. In the Christian parallel, however, this is improved upon by means of a reminiscence from the cere-

[1] "A man from Baal-Shalisha . . brought the man of God bread of the first fruits, twenty *loaves of barley* and full ears of corn in the husk thereof. And he said, Give unto the people, that they may eat. And his servitor said, What, should I set this before an *hundred men*. He said again, Give the people, that they may eat, for thus saith the Lord, They shall eat and shall leave thereof. So he set it before them, and they did eat, and left thereof according to the word of the Lord."

[2] In A—if we abstract from the interpolation—no such difficulty is to be felt.

[3] *Les Origines de l'Eucharistie* (Paris, 1908) p. 59, n. 1.

monial of an *agapē*, as it was celebrated in the houses or meeting-places of the community, where the crumbs that fell 'between the couches,' used to be swept up in an orderly way.[1] But who would think of sweeping the ground for the sake of cleanliness *after an improvised meal in the middle of the wilderness?* And where did the seven or twelve baskets come from in such a place? It becomes all the more evident that this detail can only be derived from the *domestic* meal-ceremonial of the Church, if we read in the prototypic manna-legend, that the Israelites were expressly *forbidden* to keep anything of that miraculous food for the next day.[2]

As to the *numbers* in this version, the 'seven' loaves and 'seven' baskets are simply the usual sacred number of these things; just as the 'twelve' baskets in the A version; or, 'seven' is chosen here as the typical *lunar* number in order to allude to the popular conception of the moon as a loaf of bread, that always grows whole again however often pieces may have been cut off it,[3] and to the equally popular comparison of the moon to a basket;[4] while the four-thousand (40 × 100) may—with some probability—be explained as suggested to the narrator by the two Old Testament prototypes, since one *hundred* men are fed by the 'man of God' Elisha, while on the other hand the manna is given to Israel during *forty* years.[5]

From this account the parallel feeding of the five thousand (A) differs in three main points: first of all

[1] Cp. above, p. 218, n. 1.

[2] Indeed in the modern Syrian church the eucharistic bread too must be baked *fresh* for each celebration and *not reserved* 'as the manna in the wilderness' according to *Exod.* 16$_{19f.}$ (O. H. Parry, l.c., p. 339).

[3] Aug. Schleicher, *Litt. Märchen*, etc. (Weimar, 1857), p. 33.

[4] On '*buginnu*,' the 'basket' of the Babylonian Moon-god, see Frank *Leipz. Sem. Stud.* II. 2, p. 13f. 35 l. 7, p. 43a.

[5] *Deut.* 8$_{2, 3}$.

the meal is enriched by *the addition of fish* to the bread; secondly the locality of the feeding is described as a meadow with *fresh green grass*, so that the group of reclining eaters look *like the beds of a garden* in it, a peculiarity that has certainly a deeper meaning, since also in the above mentioned (p. 210) fresco of the Capella Graeca of S. Priscilla the fish-meal is celebrated on a verdant ground[1]; finally the *two hundred* penny-worth of bread, the *five* fishes and *two* loaves and the *five* instead of four *thousand* participants—grouped in a *hundred* ranks of *fifty* men each—denote *a more developed numerical symbolism.*

As to the fish, they cannot be derived from the Manna-legend, unless the words of Moses in the latter (*Num.* 11_{22}): "Shall (all) the flocks and the herds be slain for them, to suffice them? *Or shall all the fish of the sea be gathered together for them to satiate them?*"—be considered a sufficient reason for their introduction. Neither is it possible that the meal should be characterised as a sabbath-eve's supper, since it appears in the story as the merest chance that some, apparently cured fish, as they were frequently used for traveller's provisions,[2] are found in the wallet of one of the disciples. It is plain, however, from what has been said before[3] about *fish being the principal dish of the Messianic meal*, that in the author's intention the fortuitous, or rather providential, presence of this peculiar meal enables Jesus to celebrate something like an anticipation of that *real* banquet of the Kingdom, which is to take place when the Son of Man will return in glory from the clouds of the sky.

[1] See also the meal depicted in the Vincentius-grave Wilpert, p. 393.

[2] Cp. *Enc. Bibl.* 1529 §7. In the 5th Surat of the *Koran* fish is expressly called 'the food of the travellers.' [3] Cp. above, p. 224, n. 4.

This obvious explanation accounts also for the insistence of the author—who is emphatically followed in this respect by the fourth gospel[1]—on the garden-like appearance of the spot. For the fish-meal of the saved in the Kingdom takes place in 'Gan Eden,' the Garden of (the recovered) Paradise. Consequently its anticipation must be enacted in a grassy, garden-like place.

In studying the more complicated numerical symbolism of this piece, it is best to depart from the 'two hundred pennyworth' of bread, since this has already been acutely explained from Philonic principles by E. A. Abbot.[2] According to the Alexandrian philosopher[3] and his Neo-pythagorean mysticism, the number 200 denotes *repentance.* The unknown evangelist to whom we owe the A account of the feeding-miracle, then probably wanted to suggest by this detail in the reply of the disciples, that not all the repentance in the world could *buy* the bread from heaven for Israel; as a free gift it must be expected from the Divine Grace.

As to the *five* instead of the *seven* loaves, there is the constant tradition in the Church,[4] from the earliest Fathers up to St. Bernard of Clairvaux, that they symbolise the technically so-called Pentateuch, the *five books* of the Mosaic Law. As to the *two* fishes—contrasted with the undefined number in the interpolation to B[5] and with the seven fishes in a Mahomedan parallel[6]—the Patristic opinion is not so unanimous.

[1] *Jn.* 6_{20}: "Now there was *much grass* in the place."

[2] *Enc. Bibl.* 1797; cp. above, p. 118, n. 1. [3] On *Gen.* 5_{22}.

[4] Cp. Pitra, *Spic. Sol.* iii. 526, § ii. [5] Cp. above, p. 212, n. 2.

[6] According to the 5th Surah (112-115) of the *Ḳoran*, God sends a fully dressed table—analogous to the '*Tischlein deck dich*' of the German fairy tale—from heaven at the prayer of Jesus. Ibn Abbas and Al Dschalalam say that there were seven loaves and seven fishes on this *maidah* (Hughes, *Dict. of*

Some take the fishes as symbolising the Christ, an idea which is beforehand excluded by the plural number of fish, in spite of all the artificial subtleties to distinguish two different personalities of the Christ—the suffering and the glorified, the anointed King and the anointed High Priest, etc. Many Fathers, however, explain the two fishes, quite in accordance with the equation of the five loaves with the five books of Moses, as representing 'the Prophets and the Psalms,' that is to say 'the Prophets and the Hagiographa' (in Hebrew, *Nebijim v Kethubim*), the two remaining main divisions of sacred books, that make up, together with the Pentateuch, the *Thorah* properly so-called, the canon of Holy Scripture. To symbolise by 'fishes' sacred books or inscriptions—the latter in case we should by preference refer the *two fishes* to the *two stone tables of the Law*[1]—is very much in the line of old Oriental allegorism; since we have Babylonian inscriptions where a certain sacred fish is called the 'writing-table of Bel,' and the Fish-god Ḫani acclaimed as the patron of the *dup-šarru* or tablet-writers, most probably because the well-known dove-tailed wedges of cuneiform writing led the popular fancy to a comparison of them with a shoal of fish swimming in various directions.[2]

Finally the number 'five thousand'—instead of 'four thousand' in B—is certainly to be explained according to the hint given in the sentence "they sat down in groups of 100 × 50."[3] As in B, the number 100

Islam, p. 110). This probably goes back to some unknown apocryphal gospel, since there has been found in Carthage an early Christian earthenware lamp, impressed with a stamp showing *seven fishes lying on a table* (see our reproduction from *Revue archeol.*, 1901, i. 24ff). Cp. also the 'seven fishes of Ištar' in an old Sumerian hymn, Hommel, *Die Schwurgöttin Išhanna*, p. 66. Other Ḳorān commentators talk of *nine* fish and nine loaves.

[1] Severian. Gabalit. in Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.* iii. 527.

[2] Cp. above pp. 31, n. 2 and 43. [3] Greek: '*ana hekaton kai ana pentekonta.*'

is derived from the *hundred* men fed with bread by Elisha; 50 however is written in Hebrew with the sign נ, that is the letter N, which is pronounced *Nūn*, i.e. '*Fish.*' The reader, who remembers from a preceding chapter[1] the familiar Jewish allegorism of calling a *pious* Israelite a 'fish,' will easily be able to decipher the numerical symbolism of the multitude grouped in ranks of '50' (נ) as suggesting that the hundreds of men, fed by Jesus on that occasion, were all 'fishes,' that is *pious* Israelites.

The most important result of this analysis is certainly that the Patristic equation of the food given by Jesus—the five loaves and two fishes—with the '*Thorah- Nebijm- Kethubim*' (Pentateuch, Prophets and Hagiographa), that is with the whole Sacred Scriptures, may indeed very well correspond to the original meaning of the unknown author of A. But, however this writer's intentions may be explained, we meet in any case as early as in *Matthew* 16_{11},[2] with the express statement, that the loaves in the two feeding-stories are *not meant for real bread*, but for the word of God, which is 'leavened,' that is putrefied and perverted by the 'leaven,' that is by the doctrine of the Pharisees. This interpretation—which was elaborately exposed later on and complicated by the logosophic identification of the Messiah with the Word of God in the Gospel of John—is in perfect harmony with the fact that the common source from which *Matthew* and *Luke* derived a series of 'sayings' of Jesus, makes the Lord quote the famous sentence about the manna in *Deuteronomy* 8_3, "Man doth not live by bread only, but by every

[1] Above pp. 169ff.

[2] "How is it that you do not understand, that I spake not to you concerning loaves of bread?"

[word] that proceedeth out of the mouth of God," in reply to the challenge, "If thou be the Son of God command that these stones be made bread,"—that is, in reply to an expectation which reflects the popular belief in the material blessings conveyed by the Messiah, in the same way as the analogous question in *John* 6[30]:

> What sign shewest thou then, that we may see [it] and believe thee? What dost thou work? Our fathers did eat *manna* in the desert, as it is written (*Ps.* 78[24]), He gave them *bread from heaven* to eat.

Such words as these would fit admirably into a situation, which may perfectly well be believed to have called forth the remarkable action—so full of deepest eschatological meaning—of the historic Jesus feeding the multitude. He may have been followed by a multitude of hearers to a lonely place, where he taught them about the impending Kingdom until nightfall. Then from the deeply excited hungry crowd of ardent believers in the Messianic hopes of Israel, the passionate cry for a sign may have arisen: If the banquet of the final Sabbath was as near as that, why could he not give them here and now a foretaste of it? Could he not change the stones into food (*lit.* bread) or let manna drop from heaven as Moses had done in the wilderness?

With the quiet calm, which is so impressively felt even in the distorted and made-up versions of our gospels, he made them all sit down, took from the wallet of one of his disciples the frugal supper of the little company, some bread and—may be—some cured fish. Then he looked up to heaven, said the *berakhah* in praise of the Creator of all food, broke the bread in the customary manner of the Jewish householder, and gave a morsel to each. And before disappointment could be felt among the partakers of this remarkable

communion-meal, he began to teach them anew: how it is written (*Deut.* 8_3) that man doth not live by food only, but by the word of God. He taught them—as his contemporary the Alexandrian philosopher tells his readers over and over again,[1] and as the Palestinian 'allegorists,' the '*dorshē reshumōth*' of his age, knew quite as well[2]—how the real manna and the true 'bread from heaven' is the divine Spirit, the revelation, that had been given to Israel on Mount Sinai,—even as the water that Moses drew from the rock, was in reality nothing else than the wholesome Law brought down from the mountain of God.[3] Had not the Lord said through the mouth of Amos, the herdsman of Tekoa ($8_{10ff.}$):

> Behold, the days come . . . when I will send a hunger on the land, *not a hunger of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing* the words of Jahvè.
>
> And they shall wander from sea to sea and from the north even to the east, they shall run to and fro to seek *the word of Jahvè*. In that day shall the fair virgins and young men *faint* for thirst.[4]

He reminded them of Jahvè's promise, given through the prophet Isaiah (55_{10}):

[1] Philo, II. *Leg. all.* 21; III. *Leg. all.* 59, 61; *Quod. det. pot. ius.* 31; *Quis rer. div. haer.* 15 and 39; *De profug.* 25, *De migr. Abrahami* 5.

[2] Cp. Lauterbach, *Jew. Quart. Review*, vol. i. p. 327. In *Sanhedr.* 70b, it is said that the tree of knowledge, from which Adam ate, was *wheat*—a theory which by the by recurs in the *Ḳorān*. This shows that the gigantic wheat-stalk in *Kethuboth* (above, p. 227 n. 5) from which the heavenly corn is to fall down in the Messianic time, was identified with the tree of *knowledge of good and evil* in Paradise. The manna descending from the tree of *knowledge*—what can it be but the Law, which teaches men to discern good and evil? Cp. '*the bread of knowledge*' and '*the water of wisdom*' in *Sirah.* 15_3 *ibid.* 24, the marvellous vine is identified with Wisdom itself.

[3] The mystic equation of the manna and of the water in the wilderness is also found in the Christian authors. See *e.g.* Raban Maur. (Migne cxii. 995), Vener. Guisbert (*ibid.* cxvi. 42, 50, 56), Rupert Abb. (*ibid.* clxvii. 902), Garner. de S. Victore (*ibid.* cxciii. 279).

[4] Cp. *Mark*, 8_3: "If I send them away fasting to their own homes they *will faint* by the way: for divers of them come from far."

As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth and maketh it bring forth and bud, *giving seed for sowing and bread for eating, so shall my Word be that goeth forth out of my mouth.*

He reminded them perhaps of the powerful words of the prophet opening this very chapter :

Ho every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that has no bread, come ye, buy and eat ! yea come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not food ? and your labour for that which satisfieth not ? Hearken diligently to me and eat ye that which *is* good ![1]

Well may he have concluded with the saying (*Jn.* 6_{17}) :

Labour not for the meat which perisheth, but for the meat which endureth unto everlasting life—for the word of God !

And then dismissed the multitude with the blessing :

Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst *after righteousness ;* for they shall be filled! (*Matt.* 5_6).

If this hypothetic reconstruction of the 'teaching' of Jesus, which is so emphatically mentioned in the A document, be admitted as plausible, I would ask the most critical reader, whether there is any difficulty in believing that a crowd which had been addressed in such or similar words,[2] could feel really satiated in a deeper sense with 'bread from heaven,' and believe themselves to have been marvellously given a foretaste of the true Messianic meal ?

As far as I can see, there is not the slightest

[1] Cp. *Jeremiah*, 15_{16} : *Thy words* . . . *I did eat* . . Thy word was unto me the joy . . of mine heart . . . O Lord. .

[2] Cp. *Shepherd of Hermas*, xi. If : "*I prayed* unceasingly. . . . He asked me : What supper hast thou eaten ? Lord, I answered, *words of the Lord have I eaten* the whole night." *Proto-Evangel of James* 1_4 : " . . *Prayer* shall be *food* and *drink* unto me."

reason to deny the historicity of this symbolic 'banquet' of the Messiah, celebrated by Jesus somewhere on the shore of the Galilean Lake. More than this, the conviction that such an impressive incident really occurred during the short earthly career of the Nazarene prophet, is alone able to account for the ecstatic visions of his disciples, who even after his tragic death still beheld their deceased master feeding them on the flesh of one broiled fish.

XXXII.

THE BROILED FISH ON THE COAL FIRE.

In the light of these results, the incident related in C does not appear to be a literary variant to A and B, but rather a psychological reflection of the real facts underlying the latter. A special explanation is wanted only for one detail, *viz.* for the fact, that *Mark* designedly contrasts the *one* roasted fish of this feeding with the 'two' or 'some' fishes mentioned in his source (A and B). An uncautioned observer might easily feel tempted to explain this emphasis on the *one* fish, on the authority of Augustine, with reference to the well-known early Christian symbolism of Jesus as the IChThYS or divine 'Fish,' as it is met with, *e.g.* in the epitaph of Aberkios. Against this, however, militates the striking fact, that the fourth evangelist, while equating Jesus himself with the *bread* of the feeding-miracle ('I am the bread of life'), does not even think of the still more effective argument of allowing the Christ to say: 'I am the Fish of the living.'[1] And if *John* does not betray any acquaintance with the ichthys symbolism, can we venture to attribute this idea to *Mark?*

Moreover there is an entirely different and very plausible solution of the whole difficulty. We know from a great many *testimonia*,[2] that according to an old

[1] Thus, (ΙΧΘΥΣ ΖΩΝΤΩΝ) in an early Christian epitaph. (Doelger, p. 160, fig. 9). [2] Scheftelowitz l.c., p. 6ff.

Jewish belief, the great cosmic fish *Leviathan* will rise from the primeval deep at the end of the times. Jahvè, or, with his aid, the angel Gabriel, will fish up the great monster,[1] dismember and cook it, and then *feed the pious on it at the great Messianic banquet.*[2] *Its taste will be like that of a fish from the lake of Tiberias.*[3]

At the bottom of this eschatologic idea there are two essentially different notions. First, the conception that the beginning of the new æon will be exactly similar to the days of creation: as Jahvè caught and slew Rahab, the great monster, before he created the world,[4] even so will he slay Leviathan before the renewal of the cosmos. Second, a naïve popular theory of retaliation: according to *Jonah* 2_3, the belly of the great fish is identical with Sheol, the pale of Hell. During the whole of the present world the belly of the great monster—Hades—has devoured the children of man. On the last day, however, God will force it to render up all its victims, as the Leviathan had to vomit forth Jonah. More than that, after this resurrection of the dead, the 'living ones' in Paradise will have their revenge on Death itself and devour in their turn the great monster. Revenge will be sweet, and the flesh of the world-encompassing whale will be as delicate as the best fish from the Tiberiad. And if they have thus eaten up Death itself, blessed immortality will of course reign over the world. Consequently the eating of the Leviathan's flesh at the Messianic banquet is in itself, like the eucharist in

[1] Cp. above p. 28.

[2] The banquet of the Last Days is regularly called *se'udat hal-liviāthān* or '*Leviathan-meal*' (cp. *e.g. Abboth* iii. 16).

[3] *Jalḳut to Job* § 41.

[4] See Zimmern (*Alter Orient*, ii. 3, pp. 8f.), on *Ps.* 74; 89; *Is.* 51; *Ezek.* 32_3; *Job* 9 and 26, etc.

the Christian doctrine, the 'medicine of immortality'[1] for the chosen.

Nothing seems more probable than that the visionary dreamer, who saw the risen Jesus feed his disciples on the one fish from the Galilean Lake, meant this meal to be intended for a foretaste of the great feast, the life-giving flesh of Leviathan, and the coal-fire on which the fish was roasted for a symbol of the final conflagration of the world—the one fire, which is large enough to roast a fish, that occupies a seventh of the whole ocean![2]

[1] Ignat. Antioch. *Ep. ad Ephes* 20₂. [2] 4 *Esra* 6₅₂.

XXXIII.

THE FISH AND THE HONEYCOMB.

As to the fish-meal in D (*Luke* 24_{41}),[1] it presents few difficulties. Unbelievers must have combated the belief in the resurrection of Jesus by raising the objection that what was seen, had been merely a vision (*phantasma*), as indeed the disciples themselves believed they saw a ghost (*pneuma*, *Luke* 24_{38}).[2] Now the mere visionary apparition of a deceased man's 'image' or 'angel' to his friends or relatives is not and was never considered—least of all by the ancients of whatever faith—a miracle transcending the ordinary course of nature. Therefore *Luke* represents the risen Christ as having been *touched*. To those who did not believe in the reanimation of the crucified *body* and qualified the apparitions of Jesus as those of a mere bodiless *spirit*, the most fervent believers opposed a vision intended to prove that after his crucifixion Jesus still manifested bodily functions: *he was seen to eat*.[3] That he should have eaten a fish and nothing else, is clearly deduced from the fact, that through his death and resurrection he had already entered the Kingdom of Heaven, and

[1] Above, p. 214.

[2] Similarly in *Mark* 6_{49} the disciples think that they see nothing but a *phantasma* of Jesus walking on the water. Cp. Brandt, *Evang. Geschichte*, p. 367, n. 1, on the Marcionite version of Luke.

[3] On the contrary, in the cases of Oannēs (above, p. 44) and John the Baptist (p. 153), the legends insist on their heroes not having eaten or drunk in order to let them appear as *supernatural* beings.

therefore ate of the food of the pious in Paradise (above, p. 225, n. 2).

The addition of the honeycomb in some manuscripts[1] immediately reminds us of the 'honey-like food of the Lord' in the Pektorios-epitaph (above, pp. 219f.). The detail in question is, no doubt, somehow connected with the well-attested eucharistic use of honey in some early Christian communities,[2] although, of course, drinking honey—or a mixture of milk and honey—is not quite the same thing as eating some wax from a honeycomb.

Yet a rapid look at the manifold mystic doctrines concerning bees and their products,[3] current among the ancients, will easily convince us that the reasons for considering honey a sacred food were equally valid also for the wax-combs. We know that the Greeks considered the bees as prophetic,[4] nay divine, animals[5]; playing on the similarity of the words *melos* (='song') and *meli* (='honey'[6]), they believed that honey given to a child would convey to it the gift of sweet eloquence and poetical genius—witness all the legends of bees filling with honey the mouth of the infant Homer, Sappho, Pindar or Plato. Bees were supposed to produce the nectar, or *melitōma*, which was the favourite drink of the gods,[7] to have led men to the oracle-places

[1] It is unknown to Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen and to the best *codices*.

[2] Above, p. 63f.

[3] See W. Robert Tornow, *De Apium Mellisque Significatione*, etc., Berlin, 1893, and A. B. Cook, 'The Bee,' etc., in *Journ. of Hell. Studies*, xv. pp. 1ff.

[4] Aristotle's works, ed. Bekker, pp. 627, B10; 835, A22; Arat. *Prognost.* v. 296; Aelian, *Hist. Anim.* i.11; v. 13.

[5] Petronius 56, '*apes divinas bestias*,' and the rest of the testimonies collected by Tornow, p. 103.

[6] See the quotations in Tornow, pp. 105ff.

[7] *Batracho-myomachia*, v. 39; *Homeric Hymn to Mercury*, v. 42.

of the divinities,[1] or even to have built temples for the gods. Priests and priestesses of Apollo, Artemis, Demeter, Cybele, bore the title of bees or king-bees.[2] Besides, bees were praised as models of chastity, because they were supposed to mould their offspring out of wax without any intercourse of the sexes.[3] Another frequent superstition—the so-called *bougonia* myth[4]—was that bees generated spontaneously in the bodies of dead animals, so that they could be considered as symbolical of immortality, as of a new form of life coming forth after death's apparent victory over the body. Moreover, the antiseptic action of honey—preventing the corruption of organic matter just as the sugar in a modern preserve—was well known to the ancient medical practitioners. According to Herodotus (i. 198), the Babylonians buried dead bodies in honey, while the Persians used wax for embalming purposes.[5] The fable of Glaukos (Hygin. *Fab.* 136) about the miraculous reviving effect of honey on a corpse which had fallen into a honey pail, shows that honey was popularly esteemed a real antidote for death,[6] nay as the longed-for *pharmakon athanasias* or 'medicine of immortality,'[7] a term which we know to have been occasionally applied by Christians to the eucharistic substances in general. Add to all this the superstitions which are based on the once mysterious phenomenon of the so-called honey-dew found on trees

[1] Pausanias, ix., p. 605$_{10}$.

[2] Cook and Tornow, *ll.cc.* Egypt. *Bjt*, Greek *Battos*='bee' is the Lybian title of the kings of Kyrene and Lower Egypt.

[3] Plin. xi. 5 (16); Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, i. 58; Aristotle, p. 553, A18, ed. Bekker; Virg. *Georg.* iv. 200.

[4] Cp. the references in Bochart's *Hierozoicon* 4$_{101}$, and for the explanation of this theory Baron Osten Sacken in the *Bulletino della Società Entomologica Italiana*, tom. 25 (1893).

[5] Tornow, pp. 126f.; *Enc. Bibl.* 2106 (small print).

[6] Thirty little bronze bees were found in a Sardinian grave (*Arch. Zeit.*, 1857, p. 30).

[7] Above, p. 240, n. 1.

or other plants, which led to the idea of a specially divine honey (in Greek *aero-meli*), supposed to fall from the sky or the stars, and identified by some ancient authorities with the manna of Exodus.[1]

No doubt the same ideas were current also among the Semites. The Babylonian word *nubtu* for bee resembles a female form of *nabiu* (= prophet), just as in Hebrew *deborah* (= bee) is intimately connected with *d-b-r* (= speak). The legendary prophetess (*n^e^biah*, *Judges* 4₄, cp. Babylonian *nubtu* = bee) Deborah (= Bee), who lived under the 'bee-palm' (*tōmer-deborah*) between Rama and Bethel, and whose so-called 'grave'[2] was shown below Bethel under the 'oak of weeping' (*Gen.* 35₈), is certainly the sacred bee, inhabiting the hollow trunk of the sacred oak, which, as Hesiod says "on top bears the glands, in the middle the bees," and, considered as the *logos*, the mystic 'word,' or messenger,[3] of the oak and thundergod, if she be an historic character, the bee-priestess or prophetess of Jahvè, the god in the oak-tree and in the thunderstorm. That the Hebrews as well as the Philistines knew the above-mentioned *bougonia* myths, is certified by the famous riddle of Samson (*Judges* 14₈), and that the Semites, too, believed in honey-rains from above, by the Babylonian divine name Ku-anna (= *Honey from heaven*).[4]

[1] Suidas, *s.v.* '*akris*.'

[2] The sacred stones of Semitic goddesses are often called their 'graves. See the 'grave' of Ai (= Ištar) in Sippar (*Codex Ḫammurabbi* ii. 26), of Aphrodite in Paphos, of Athar in Damascus and of the moon-goddess in Karrhæ (= Harran), Clemens Rom. *Recogn.* i. 24, v. 13, vi. 21, and Justin, xxxv. 2, 2.

[3] The conception of a divine 'word' is *primitive* with the Semites and entirely independent of later Hellenistic speculations. Cp. Hubert Grimme on *amr* (*logos*) in Arabic inscriptions of the 7th century B.C., and Zimmern, *A.Or.* vii. 3, p. 11, or Böllenrücher on *amâtu* (= the word) in old Babylonian hymns to Sin and Nergal.

[4] III. Rawl. 67, 34; Hommel, *Grundriss*, p. 267₂.

Honey was burnt to the Ba'alim by their worshippers (*Ezek.* 16_{19}), and offered among the first-fruits also to Jahvè (*Levit.* 2_{12}), on whose altar it could not, however, be burnt as a meal-offering. Honey, which was extensively eaten by the Pythagoreans (Tornow, *o.c.* p. 126) was also produced in great quantity by the Jewish Essenes (*Philo.* 2_{633}, Mangey) and formed part of the diet of Jewish ascetics (cp. above, p. 133, on John the Baptist).

Because it was thought to be the production of 'prophetic' or 'speaking' animals, it is often compared with the 'word' or 'wisdom' of the divinity by the Hebrew poets. The word of Jahvè is 'sweeter than honey and the *honeycomb*' (*Ps.* 19_{10}, cp. 119_{103}), the pleasant *speech* of a congenial man being also 'as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul and health to the bones'; even so is wisdom comparable to honey (*Prov.* 24_{13}) and to a honeycomb (*Ecclus.* 24_{20}).

Therefore nothing could be more natural than that the Christian Church should have taken over all these ideas, which had always been the common property of Jewish and Hellenic superstition; thus we find Ambrose[1] and Augustine[2] likening the bees to chaste virgins, and Lactantius (I. 8_8) comparing their alleged parthenogenetic procreation to the incarnation of the *Logos*. Even such a late author as Cæsarius of Heisterbach,[3] who could not possibly know anything of Pausanias' account (X. p. 618_{10}), that the first sanctuary in Delphi had been *built by bees of wax* and bee-wings speaks of bees building a temple for the infant Christ.

But the most explicit testimony is certainly offered

[1] *De Virginibus* i.

[2] *Civ.* xv. 27.

[3] *Dial. Mirac.*, ed. Strange, *Dist.* ix., *De Corp. Christi*, c. 8. Cp. Aug. Stöber, *Elsäss. Sagenbuch*, Strassburg, 1842, p. 86.

by the remarkable bee-hymns, which are to be found in certain old sacramentaries immediately before the 'Blessing of the Easter Candle.' The one in the Gelasian sacramentary,[1] beginning with the words '*Deus mundi conditor*,' runs as follows:

O God, creator of the world, author of light, maker of the stars, God, who hast recovered with manifest light the world that previously lay in darkness . . . . we offer to thy majesty, in this most holy nocturnal vigil, out of thy own gifts a candle . . . made of wax oil and papyrus. . . . But since we marvel at the origin of this substance, we must necessarily praise the offspring of the bees. Indeed the bees are most frugal in what they eat and most chaste in their procreation. They build cells formed of liquid wax, which are unequalled by the master art of human experience. With their feet they gather flowers and from the flowers they produce honey. They do not shew forth births, but collecting them with the mouth they produce the swarms of conceived offspring, even as in a miraculous example Christ came forth from the mouth of the Father. In them virginity becomes fruitful without giving birth, and therefore God deigned to have a mother after the flesh from love of unblemished virginity. Such worthy offerings are therefore brought to thy sacred altars and Christianity has no doubt that thou art pleased with them.

In a slightly different version from other manuscripts[2] the 'praise of the bees' is worded as follows:

The bees are superior to all the other animals which are subject to the rule of man, because in spite of the extreme smallness of their bodies, their hearts conceal the most powerful minds.

Then follows a lengthy description of their gathering the sweetness from the flowers.

When they return to their home, some of them build with an incomparable art the cells out of a gluey liquor, others produce the honey, others transform the flowers into wax, others *form the young ones with their mouths*, others make nectar from the

[1] Cp. *Sacramentarium Gelasianum*, ed. Wilson, Oxford, 1894, p. 80.

[2] Migne, *Patrol. Lat.*, lxxviii. c. 335.

collected flower leaves. O thou really blessed and lovable bee, the sex of which is neither violated by the males, nor harmed by the foetus, nor is thy chastity destroyed by child-birth, even as the holy Mary conceived as a virgin, as a virgin gave birth, and remained a virgin for ever.

Consequently we may well suppose that originally a honeycomb was mentioned along with the broiled fish as food of the risen Lord, because this production of the virgin bee was believed to be *unpolluted by the stain of original sin*, even as the fishes (cp. above, pp. 173 n. 5 and 183 n. 1) were considered 'a more sacred food' than other meat,[1] evidently for the reason that popular belief attributed a parthenogenetic origin to this species of living beings.

For the late author, however, who inserted the words '*and gave them of it*' (above, p. 214, n. 2) into the context, thus adding another instance of the risen Jesus' eating in communion with his disciples to the original narrative of the Christ, proving his *bodily* resurrection against the doubts of the Docetic heresy, *both the fish and the waxen honeycomb were evidently familiar eucharistic symbols of the eaten god's mystic body.*

The above-quoted bee-hymns refer, indeed, to the blessing of the so-called Easter candle. Now Catholic readers will certainly remember that up to the present day the wax of the Easter candle—which must be absolutely pure—is marked with five grains of incense, shaped like little nails and disposed in the form of a cross, which are intended to represent the five wounds of the crucified Christ.[2] Consequently the wax of the

[1] Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 1₁₄; cp. Vincent. Bellovac. *Spec.* xxx. c. 78, p. 2274: "The earth not the sea has been cursed by God [*sci.* before the deluge]. . . . This is the reason why we read of God eating of a fish, but not of the flesh of any other animal," etc.

[2] Cp. Wetzer-Welte, *Kath. Kirchenlexikon*, Freiburg, 1895, vol. ix. S. 1136f.

candle itself is supposed to symbolise the human body of the incarnate Logos and Light from heaven.

The same symbolic interpretation of wax is manifest in another ancient rite, known to us through the violent discussions which it has aroused between the Greek and the Latin Church. It was customary in Rome and in the whole Occident to make little *lambs* out of the *consecrated wax* of the Paschal candle and to keep them for the *octave* of Easter, when they were distributed to the communicants after the Lord's supper. The Greek theologians accused the Roman Church of including these wax lambs in the eucharistic consecration rite. In reality they were only taken home by the people and burnt together with incense in order to purify the houses by this fumigation. While refuting the libellous charges of the Greeks and Bulgarians, Amalarius of Trier (Hittorp, I. 342) gives the following explanatory reason for this rite :

> The wax symbolises, as Gregory [the Great] says in his sermons, the humanity of the Christ ; for the honeycomb consists of honey in wax ; the honey in wax, however, is the divinity in the humanity. The lambs, which the Romans make [of wax], symbolise the immaculate Lamb, which was made for our benefit.

Here again the use of wax as a symbol for the flesh of the *Agnus Dei*, the redeeming victim of Good Friday, is obviously a very ancient tradition. Thus it becomes exceedingly probable that the late author, who wrote the sentence of the disciples eating *together* with Jesus of the broiled fish and the honeycomb, understood this meal as *a communion-meal* in the flesh and blood of the Christ, including both his divine and his human essence.

XXXIV.

THE 'FISH' CAUGHT BY THE 'VIRGIN' IN THE MYSTIC EPITAPH OF BISHOP ABERKIOS.

In the previous discussion of fish, bread and wine as the mystic food consumed in the love-meals of the primitive Church, we already mentioned incidentally the much-discussed epitaph of one Aberkios[1]—probably the bishop Avirkios Markellos of Hieropolis in Phrygia Salutaris, who lived, according to the Church History of Eusebius, towards the close of the 2nd century A.D.—the inscription itself being certainly anterior to an imitation of part of its context on another man's tombstone dating from the year 216 A.D. The document runs as follows:

[1] As the citizen of an *elect city*,
I have erected this [monument] while I lived,
in order to have in [due] time a place where to bury my body.
My name is *Aberkios*; I am a *disciple* of a holy *shepherd*
[5] who feeds *flocks* of *sheep* on mountains and plains,
who has great eyes that oversee everything.
It is he who taught me the true *writings* [*of Life*],
who sent me to Rome, to visit *the majesty* (*basileian*),
to see a *queen* (*basilissan*) with golden garb and golden sandals.
[10] There I saw a *people* wearing a *shining seal*.
And I saw too the plain of Syria and all the towns,
Nisibis, where I crossed the Euphrates. Paul I had as my guide (*epo* [*dōnta*]).[2]

[1] The endless literature of the subject is conveniently summed up and catalogued in Dom Cabrol's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, *s.v.* '*Abercius*.'

[2] The inscription is mutilated here. The 'Life of Abercius' of Byzantine origin, supplied *epochon*, Hirschfeld *ep' ochōn*, Hilgenfeld *epoptēn*, Lingens *eporeuthēn*. My restoration is based on Aeschylus, *Pers.* 657, where we find *epodoō* for *ephodoō*='lead on the way.'

Faith however always went ahead and set before me as food
a *fish* from a *fountain*, a huge one, a clean one,
15 which a *holy virgin* has *caught*.
This she gave to the *friends* ever to eat as food,
having good *wine*, and offering it watered, together with *bread*.
Aberkios had this engraved when 72 years of age in truth.
Whoever can understand this, let him pray for Aberkios, etc.

As the last line of our quotation gives us quite plainly to understand, a number of words, which we have italicised, are obviously used in an unusual metaphorical sense, that is to say as terms of a Christian mystery-language.

The 'holy shepherd,' whom Aberkios praises as his master, is certainly Jesus, whose large fascinating eyes are such a marked feature of the Christ-type in the old Christian mosaics. The 'flocks' which he feeds on mountains and plains, are the churches scattered throughout the high- and low-lands of the ancient world; the 'true writings of Life' are the gospels. The Christ—possibly in a dream or in a vision—has sent the bishop on a pilgrimage to Rome. Even according to the most sceptical critics,[1] at the end of the second century A.D. the supremacy of the Church of Rome was certainly recognised in the East.

Accordingly, we have not the least hesitation in admitting that a Christian bishop of Phrygia might have likened the *ekklēsia* (community of Christians) in Rome to a 'queen's' supreme 'majesty.' We know that Justin Martyr called the town of Rome a 'queen' (*basilis*), and we have, moreover, the epitaph of a Pagan official, one Antony Theodore, Katholikos of Egypt and Phœnicia, who prides himself on having lived for a long time in the 'queen-city of Rome' (*basileuousa Rōmē*) and of having seen its marvels. Neither are the old

[1] *E.g.* Von Manen in *Enc. Bibl.* 4157.

epical epithets 'with golden shoes and golden garb' difficult to account for in their application to a female personification of the Church, as it is met with, *e.g.*, in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, in Valentinus or Clement of Alexandria. We know from the Sermons of Methodios (*Or.* viii. c. 8), that the 45th Psalm—a marriage-hymn in honour of an Israelite king—was interpreted as celebrating the marriage of the King Messiah with the 'Church,' the 'queen' who stands on the right of the king in a gold-woven garment (vv. 10 and 14ff.).[1] Even in late mediæval papal documents, we encounter the same idea, that Jesus Christ, the King of kings, clothes the Church, as his queen *and bride*, with a *golden garment*, and places her on the right of his throne.[2]

The 'people' distinguished by the 'shining seal' are the Christians, who have received the 'seal' of baptism, which is called shining with reference to the bright white garment of the newly initiated.[3] Paul, the apostle, whose journey to Rome was on record in *Acts*, is the teacher, whose example invites Aberkios to visit the famous capital of the Empire, that is 'who puts him on the way.' 'Faith' (*Pistis*), a female personification, to be met with not infrequently on Pagan monuments, leads him from one community of 'friends,' that is fellow-believers, to the other, and everywhere sets before him the mystic 'fish,' which is to be eaten by them in common, together with wine and bread.

What remains to be explained and what has given rise to many discussions, are the various mystic epithets which are given to the 'fish.' Why, indeed,

[1] Cp. Conybeare, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* IX., pp. 78f.

[2] *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, p. 297 n. 2 (Suppl.).

[3] Cp. Doelger, *Sphragis*, Paderborn, 1912, pp. 87f.

is he called the 'all great one'[1] and the 'clean one' why a 'fish from the fountain'; and why is he considered the catch of a 'holy virgin'?

We have seen before that, in *Jn.* 21 9, 13, the roasted and eaten fish probably symbolised the Leviathan, the fish which is to be the main dish of the great Messianic Banquet. If this mythic monster animal were meant here as well, we could understand why that world-encompassing beast should be called '*panmegethēs*' ('all-great'), and also why it should be designated as 'clean,' since we have special decisions of the Rabbis that the Leviathan is to be reckoned among the clean (=eatable) fish, because of its scales and fins. But we do *not* know of any myth which tells us that the Leviathan will be caught at the end of times by a 'virgin'; on the contrary, it is always either God the Father or the Archangel Michael or, possibly, the Christ, who is supposed to perform this heroic deed; neither can we explain why the Leviathan, who lives at the bottom of the sea (*Psalm* 104 27), should be called a '*fish from a spring*,' evidently in the sense of a freshwater[2] or river fish.[3]

Consequently, we must suppose that the 'fish' signifies in this connection something else or some-

[1] The only other passages where the *Christ* is called the 'great' fish are to be found in Prosper Aquitanus and in Paschasius Radbert's Commentary to Matthew, quoted by Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.* iii. 525f. In the well-known passage of Tertullian where the Christians are called 'little fishes' after the image of the ΙΧΘΥΣ, we should expect to find the latter called the 'great Fish.' Nevertheless, the epithet is wanting here. Little fishes swimming against a big one are represented in a Syracuse catacomb painting, O. Wulff, *Gesch. d. Altchristl. u. byz. Kunst*, p. 74.

[2] Cp. the Christ as a 'freshwater fish' (*aquae vivae piscis*) in St. Paulin, *Ep.* xiii., p. 397.

[3] See Richardus a S. Laurentio: "Mary is *a river*; in this *river* was born that unique and eternal fish Jesus Christ," etc. The idea of the birth in the river is of course originally derived from the idea of the Messiah's *rebirth in the Jordan* during his baptism. Cp. also above, pp. 173 n. 5 and 183 n. 1, the Rabbinic idea of a parthenogenetic origin of the fishes from water.

thing more than simply the Leviathan. Indeed it is *à priori* quite legitimate to expect here an allusion to the well-known fish-symbol of the suffering Messiah[1] himself. Even as the Christian Fathers, beginning with Augustine (416 A.D.),[2] take the roast fish of *John* 21, which was originally meant to suggest the Leviathan of the Jewish fish-banquet on the eve of the final world-sabbath, as a symbol for the suffering Christ, so also Aberkios evidently alludes to a food which is somehow connected with the '*continually*' celebrated rite of the Christian bread- and wine-communion (ll. 16f.).

Now, since it is well known that, for reasons which cannot be discussed here, the Christian Church, beginning at least from the age of Paul, if not indeed from the evening of the Last Supper, believed firmly and fervently that it ate the Christ himself, or at least of his 'mystic' body, in the blessed bread and wine of their ritual communion meals, nothing could be more probable than the following interpretation of the 'clean' and 'world-wide' fish in our inscription. The Jews expected to eat at the end of time the huge, yet Levitically considered 'clean,' that is ritually eatable, fish Leviathan. For the Christian devotee, who *believes* that Jesus *is* the Messiah who *has* already come and instituted the permanent Messianic Sabbath-eve's meal, the 'fish,' whose eating gives immortality, is *Iēsous Christos Theou 'Yios Sōtēr*—the reborn

[1] Cp. above, pp. 171 n. 1, 187 n. 1. I say, of the *suffering* Messiah, because I have come across a Midrashic tradition (*Mekh. Shirah*, 9; *Sanhedr.* 92b; *Pirkē di R. Eliezer*, xlviii.) reporting that Nun (=Fish) the father of Joshuah, a prominent Ephraimite, of whom the Bible itself does not contain any mention, was the leader of an attempted, but unsuccessful, departure of the Jews from Egypt, who found a violent death at the hands of the Egyptians. The *Messiah ben Nun* (=*Ichthys*) may therefore well have been conceived also as a reincarnation of this mythic hero, who had suffered for the deliverance of his oppressed nation.

[2] Dölger, ΙΧΘΥΣ, pp. 42f. The formula, evidently of Latin, Western origin, is "*piscis assus est Christus passus.*"

Joshuah ben Nun (=Fish) or reborn Nun (=Fish)—who gave at the Last Supper his own body to eat to his 'friends' and followers. The true 'great' (=exalted) and 'clean' (that is=sinless[1]) 'Fish' of the Christians is the Messiah himself. To him who believes in the Messianity of Jesus, his 'Faith' offers daily the true Messianic 'Fish.'[2]

If this is the correct solution of the puzzle set us by the bishop of Hieropolis, it should offer as well a plausible explanation why it is said the 'Fish' was caught by a[3] Holy Virgin. The first thought of the modern reader would be to identify this 'Holy Virgin'

[1] Cp. the dogmatic discussions about the sinlessness of the Christ, which are incorporated into the narratives of Jesus' baptism in *Matth.* and *Lk.*

[2] A question of minor importance cannot—at least as far as I can see—be decided from the text of Aberkios' epitaph: we cannot distinguish whether Aberkios *really* lived on the 'purer and more holy food' (above, p. 247 n. 1) of fish (*with* bread and wine) during his whole journey, or whether he only means to say, that he ate the eucharistic bread and wine everywhere together with 'friends,' consuming thereby *symbolically* the body of the Christ-Fish. No doubt the catacomb-frescoes, and even later monuments such as a celebrated mosaic of Ravenna and still later mediæval miniatures, seem to represent the eating of a real fish in the course of the *agapē*. But, on the other hand, extant early Christian bread-stamps from Coptic graves in Egypt (see reproductions of such stamps from the Kaiser Friedrich's Museum in Berlin, in Wulff's catalogue, nos. 1435, 1440f., 1561) show, that it was customary to impress the *image* of a fish on the eucharistic bread and to drink the wine of the 'cup of blessing' from glasses decorated with engraved images of fishes (Garucci, *Storia dell' arte Cristiana*, vi., pl. 490; Kraus, *Real Enc.*, i. 517). This would have no sense whatever, if the bread and the wine had been eaten *with real fish.* On the contrary, it is a very effective method of reminding the participants of the communion, that in the material shape of the bread and the wine they partake of the *mystic* 'Fish' Jesus, just as other Christian bread-stamps with the *agnus Dei* in the Cluny and Ashmolean Museums were to remind the eater of the consecrated wafer that he was mystically eating the true Passah-lamb of the new covenant. Most probably the development of the real fish-meal into a symbolic 'fish'-communion is parallel to the supplanting of the original love-meal (*agapē*) of the small primitive congregations by the mere symbolic communion-meal of the later mass-ceremonial. At the end, the real fish-eating subsisted only in the—quite unofficial and only traditional—eating of the Friday-fish, just as the eating of a real Easter-lamb was—unofficially—continued alongside the real Easter-communion.

[3] No definite article is added to *parthenos* in Greek, and that quite intentionally, so that indeed a Pagan, uninitiated reader may be induced to think of nothing else but of one of the innumerable '*kedeshoth*' or 'consecrated' maidens of Oriental shrines. This is, indeed, what has happened to such modern scholars as have advocated the Pagan character of the epitaph.

with Mary[1], and to seek for some myth about the Blessed Virgin drawing the infant Jesus—like a fish—from the water, even as the Egyptian princess did with Moses[2]. As a fact we know of no such legend, although this certainly does not give us the right to say that such a story never existed, especially since we know of a great many *Märchen* and sagas where the supernatural birth of the hero from a virgin or a formerly barren woman is brought into connection with the catching and eating of a certain fish—called in some instances the 'king of the fishes' or 'father of fishes.'[3]

In some instances the impregnation of the heroine is brought about by a drink of water *from a certain spring*, and there is at least one version where the incorporation of the fish is combined in a characteristic way with the fertilising draught of water.[4] Now it is indeed remarkable that we have a (Mandæan) tradition[5] which purports that Mary conceived through drinking water from a certain spring at the bidding of God. In spite of its late date, the primitive character of this legend is evident for intrinsic reasons, and it may well have been already in existence at the time when the author of the Proto-Evangel of James related how Mary received the annunciation *in the very act of fetching a jar*

[1] Thus de Rossi, Wilpert and other authors.

[2] A midrash about the infant Moses being drawn out of a *fish-pond* in Wünsche, *aus Israels Lehrhalten*, Leipz., 1907, p. 165.

[3] Most of the folk-tales containing this *motive* have been collected and analysed by E. Sidney Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, London, 1894, ch. ii., 'The King of the Fishes Type.' Other instances not directly connected with the Perseus legend are to be found, *ibid.* pp. 73ff.

[4] Cp. Powell and Magnusson, *Icelandic Legends*, coll. by Jan Arnason, London, 1864/66, p. 435; Maurer, *Isländische Volkssagen*, Leipzig, 1860, p. 284. The story is about an earl's wife, to whom three women in blue mantles, the Norns, appear in a dream and command her to go to a stream near by and lay herself down to drink of it and try to get into her mouth a certain trout she will see there, when she will at once conceive. Everything happens as foretold, etc.

[5] Brandt, *Mandäische Religion*, p. 67; Dölger, *o.c.*, p. 94.

of water from the well.[1] As there are indeed later traditions[2] about the Virgin Mary *eating a fish* and spinning[3] in this same situation, we should not be at all astonished if we should one day meet, in some until now unknown or unedited apocryphal gospel-fragment, the typical variant of this miraculous birth-legend.

Fortunately, however, we need not wait for such a discovery to explain the crucial line about the 'virgin's fish' in the Aberkios epitaph. Even now we are perfectly acquainted with the strange symbolism that underlies as well Aberkios' mystic description of the supernatural birth of the 'Fish' as all the *Märchen* and sagas quoted on the preceding page, n. 3.

In the folk-lore of the most different parts of the world we find—for complex and different reasons, all of which, however, modern psycho-analysis would not find hard to explain[4]—a highly developed sex symbolism connected with the idea of a fish.

To begin with far-away India, we see in a collection of Buddhist symbols[5] the *yoni*, or female organ, represented by a fig-leaf and two fishes in a characteristic position. The Love-god himself is called *mīnaketu*, *mīnadhvaja*, *mīnalauhana*, *mīnāuka* = 'he who has the fish for his symbol.' There is on record an Indian version of the typical *Märchen*, how a queen, her servant and a cow became pregnant by eating of a

[1] The earliest illustrations of this scene are mentioned by Dölger, *o.c.*, p. 94_2.

[2] Dähnhard, *Natursagen*, ii. vol., ch. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 253, cp. below p. 262, n. 6, and pl. lxv.

[4] Cp. the author's paper, '*Zur Sexualsymbolik des Fisches*,' in Sigm. Freud's review, *Imago*, 1914, p. 165-195.

[5] *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society (old series), vol. xviii., p. 392, pl. ii. See the reproduction on our plate lx.

boiled fish and of the fish-broth.[1] The Hindus use fish-soup for the same purpose of strengthening virility[2] as modern popular medicine in Europe prescribes the eating of caviare or any other fish-roe. They finally practise a strange fishing-rite in the course of their marriage ceremonies, which presupposes the idea of a close analogy between fishing and the act of conception. The newly-married couple enter the water, turn their faces towards the rising-sun[3] and try to catch some fish with a garment. While doing this they ask a Brahmachārin: 'What seest thou?' He answers: 'Sons and cattle.'[4] If they take much fish, they hope for many children.[5] There is also a variant of this marriage-oracle: an artificial fish is kept moving in a bowl full of water, and the bride is expected to shoot an arrow at it, thus mimicking a fish-hunting of a different kind, somewhat similar to the modern pike-shooting as it used to be practised on Austrian lakes and probably elsewhere too.[6] This very same arrow-shooting at a golden fish occurs also as a marriage test in the *Mahābhārata*, i. 185ff. In South India another somewhat worn-down variant of the ceremony has been recorded; *sc.* that the bride has to

[1] See Scheftelowitz, *o.c.*, pp. 371 and 392.

[2] Pischel, *Sitz.-Ber. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 530.

[3] Cp. with this the many instances of a belief in impregnation by the rays of the morning sun, collected by Hartland, *Perseus*, vol. i., pp. 99, 137f. 170.

[4] Cp. with the mention of cattle in this connection the innumerable fairy tales where, together with the heroine, a cow or other animal is made pregnant by the caught fish.

[5] For this and the following customs the testimonies are quoted in full *Wiener Zeitschr. f. Kunde des Morgenl.* xviii. 299f.; xx. 291; xxii. 431. Cp. Pischel, *l.c.*

[6] E.g. in Montenegro, see the photograph *Country Life*, vol. xxxv., p. 359. Hoernes, *Natur-u. Urgesch. d. Menschen*, Vienna, 1909, p. 488, fig. 180 (Andamanians shooting arrows at fish).

fish out of the water-bowl a ring—obviously as the symbol of the coveted matrimonial union.[1]

Nearly all these features of Indian folk-lore can be paralleled from Greek sources. The Greek word *delphys*'—intimately related to *delphis*=dolphin[2] is given by old lexicographers (*e.g.* Hesychios) as a name for the womb. Similarly '*myllos*,' the name of the fish which to-day is known as the sea-mullet, was used in Sicily to denote the female organ.[3] A figure of the Greek love-god Eros riding on a fish is found on a coin reproduced by Imhoof-Blumer (*Thier und Pflanzenbilder auf griechischen Münzen*, pl. xxiii. 11)[4]; another winged cupid holding a fish in his hand is embossed on a gold *bractea* of the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.[5] Instances of the fairy-story about the virgin impregnated by a fish abound in Hahn's collection of Neo-Greek and Albanian *Märchen* (nos. 8; 112; 64 var. 3; 22, etc.) Finally two black-figured vase-paintings[6] and the extant fragment of the philosopher and poet Epicharmus's comedy 'The Marriage of Hebe' or 'The Muses' prove that the main course of a Greek marriage-banquet consisted of fish. Our comic author describes the innumerable kinds of fish that were served on this occasion to the Olympian

[1] It may be interesting to note that, according to T. F. Thiselton Dyer, *Popular Customs in England*, etc., p. 257, in England too the marriage-ring used to be thrown into a milkpail filled with '*sillabub*' (a mixture of milk, cider or wine and sugar) and fished out again by the bride. The popular wedding-ring-fishing at the shore of S. Lucia in Naples, is illustrated in the *Dominica del Corriere*, Milan, 13th of Sept., 1908.

[2] See Pradel, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1909, p. 152.

[3] Athen. xiv. 647a. Cp. *myllas*=a harlot. The sea-mullet was sacred to Proserpine and offered and worshipped at Eleusis Æl. *Nat. An.* 951.

[4] Many other coins of the same type are to be found on the collotype plate added to Usener's *Sintflutsagen*, p. 278, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 14, 22.

[5] *Nouv. Ann. de l'Inst. archéol.*, i., 1836, pl. A. fig. 2 (wrongly interpreted by de Witte as an image of Aphrodite Kolias).

[6] Cp. plate lxi.

assembly and how Zeus had the one *ellops*—the 'holy fish' of the mysteries (above p. 35, n. 1)—which could be procured, put aside for himself and his wife,[1] while the vase-painters show the bridegroom Herakles fishing as hard as he can with the assistance of the gods Hermes and Poseidon. These mythic examples can happily be paralleled from human life: we hear that the Alexandrian guild of fishermen offered a sacred fish, called '*leukos*' (=white fish), to Berenice, the bride of Ptolemy Soter, on the eve of her wedding-night.[2]

With the Indian 'fishing' for offspring we may finally compare a whole series of Pompeian fresco-paintings, where a girl is represented in the act of angling fishes with the help of the love-god *Eros*. The symbolism of these images[3]—one of which has been discovered *in the brothel* of Pompei—is clear enough, if we remember that even to-day the male organ is still vulgarly called '*ro pesce*' in Naples[4] and the whole South of Italy.

Not, of course, with the same coarse literality, but still palpably enough, the same idea is expressed in the delightful poem 'First Love-Song of a Girl' of the

[1] Athen. 282d.; Epicharm. Fr. 71. The Fragm. 154, Rz., of the Pseudo-Hesiodean 'Marriage of Ceyx,' may also refer to the fish eaten in the course of the marriage-banquet. The pertinent words are: "But after they had satiated their craving for food . . . they *brought the mother's mother*, so that she may die, well bruised and broiled . . . with her children." It is obvious that here reference is made to the eating of an alleged ancestral animal, and it is possible that Plutarch, *Sympos.* viii. 8₄, p. 730E., refers to these verses, where he quotes, after stating that the Poseidon-priests worshipped the fish as a kindred animal (cp. above, p. 37, n. 2), a passage from the 'Marriage of Ceyx': "*Even as fire consumes the wood out of which it was kindled—as the author says, who interpolated the 'Marriage of Ceyx' into the works of Hesiod—even so Anaximander demonstrated that fish was mother and father together to man, and therefore protested against eating it.*"

[2] Ælian, x. 46; Strabo, xvii. 812; Athen. vii. 17, p. 284, Cas.; Seneca in St. August. *De Civ. Dei.* xvi. 10.

[3] See our plate lxiii.

[4] Dölger *o.c.*, p. 109.

famous Swabian parson Eduard Moericke[1] (written about 1830):

SONG OF A GIRL'S FIRST LOVE.

What's in the net there? Let me feel!
How with dread I shake, though!
Shall I catch a splendid eel?
Shall I grab a snake, though?

Blind love chides my
Doubting speech,
Swiftly guides my
Downward reach.

It slips through my fingers,
O rapture unblest!
It snuggles, it lingers,
Then glides to my breast.

It bites, ah the smart now!
It bites through the skin,
And down to my heart now
It hurries within.

I can't get it out there,
The strange eerie thing
That's flapping about there
All curled in a ring.

Oh for some deadly potion!
It circles so fast,
And with blissful emotion
'Twill kill me at last!

Quite possibly the *motive* is taken from an unknown popular song. Anyhow it is beyond doubt very ancient and primitive,[2] since we have a highly

[1] *Gesammelte Schriften*, 22nd edition, Leipzig, 1905, vol. i. p. 33. I owe this translation to the kindness of Dr. Charles Wharton Stork of Philadelphia, Pa.

[2] De Witte, *Nouv. Ann. Inst. arch.* i., 1836, quotes, in his article on Aphrodite Kolias, a satiric Campanian vase-picture of a *phallos*-merchant, selling *phalloi*, one of which is *characterised as a fish with fins*, from Millin, *Trois Peintures de Vases du Musée de Portici*, pl. I. According to Sal. Reinach, in the bibliography given in his *Repertoire des Vases antiques*, Millin's engraver arbitrarily invented all three paintings. If this is true, they would only illustrate the popular comparison of the *phallos* with a fish in the 18th century.

archaic Boeötian vase-painting of the geometrical style, representing the 'Great Mother' of the Gods carrying the 'fish' in her womb.[1] Besides, the only apparent reason why fishes in general, or special fishes, like the *anchovy* (*aphyē*),[2] or—in Syracuse—the *baiōn*,[3] or—elsewhere—the *pompilos*[4] (said to have originated from the blood that dropped from the emasculated Sky-god into the ocean), or the *phalaris* (the name of which reminds Athenæus of the *phallos*)[5], or the mackerel (*kōlias* or *kolias* = sea-lizard; *kōlē* or *kōlōtēs* = 'lizard' being a euphemism for *phallos*[6]), should be sacred to the Love- and Fertility-goddess Aphrodite, as well as to her Asiatic incarnations Cybele, Artemis, Derketo, Ishtar, Anahita, etc., and also to the primitive German mother-goddesses, is to be found in the popular metaphor comparing the male organ to a fish.[7]

Nor is this symbolism in any way confined to Greek folk-lore. Dölger (*o.c.*, p. 429) has very acutely observed that we find on a whole series (*e.g.* his figg. 71, 74) of Babylonian seal-cylinders (as well as on the monuments cited p. 260 n. 4) the figure of the fish side by side with a characteristic glyph representing the female organ, and that the *phallos* and the fish are found to

[1] Cp. plate lxiv. In Tiryns a potsherd has been found (Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 112, fig. 20) which shows the fish placed between the legs of a horse; a very similar group on a prehistoric engraving (Piette l'Anthr., Paris, 1894, p. 144, fig. 14). Scheftelowitz, *o.c.*, p. 381, thinks that both drawings were painted in order to strengthen magically the fertility of the owner's animals.

[2] Athen. vii., p. 325B.

[3] See Hesych., *s.v.* '*baiōtis*,' on the Syracusian Aphrodite Baiōtis.

[4] Athen. vii., p. 282E.

[5] Athen. vii., p. 325B.

[6] See the testimonies collected by de Witte, *o.c.* (n. 2 of preceding page).

[7] There is no doubt, under the circumstances, that Pythagorean number-symbolism must have been well aware of the '*isopsēphy*' of ΦΑΛΛΟΣ = 21+1+11+11+15+18 = 77 = ΙΧΘΥΣ (below, p. 266).

interchange *ad libitum* among the apotropaic signs on Syrian door-lintels.

Accordingly it is not in the least astonishing to find the '*fish-meal*' (*se'ūdat dāgim*) celebrated also in the course of the old *Jewish marriage ceremonial*.[1] The Jews in Morocco call one of the days of the wedding-week the '*fish-day*,' because on it the bridegroom sends quantities of fish to the bride. In Fez these fishes are thrown over the feet of the bride. The Sephardic Jews in Bosnia perform a special *fish-dance* at the marriage festival,[2] and the same custom is recorded from Turkey. Sometimes a *net full of fishes* is placed on the threshold for the bride to step over when she enters her husband's house.[3]

In Russia a fish-net is thrown over the bride after she has put on her wedding garments,[4] and similarly with the Gurians a woman lying-in is covered with a great net.[5] The explanation for this *symbolic fish-net* is to be found in a Suaheli marriage-hymn, where the singer *compares the bride to a fish-net*. "*Each fish will go into it*," he says.[6] This same fish-net—we are obviously in this connection to think of a small net of conical shape, as it was and is still used to catch fish by civilised and savage people, and as we find one represented on the bishop-ring of St. Arnulph (above,

[1] Talm. *Semāḥot*, *Pereq* 8 and 14; and the folklorist evidence offered by Scheftelowitz, *o.c.*, p. 376.

[2] After the rings have been exchanged, all the relatives assemble in the bridegroom's house. One of the family-members after the other places before the feet of the bride one or more fish, the heads of which are decorated with flowers, the bodies with leaf-gold. Then she has to jump over all the fishes.

[3] *Wien. Zeitschr. f. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, xx. 292-295.

[4] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 2nd ed., vol. i. p. 339.

[5] Ploss, *Das Weib*, etc., 7th edition, vol. ii., p. 415.

[6] Velten, *Sitten und Gebraüche der Suaheli*, 1903, 126; Scheftelowitz, *o.c.*, p. 392.

pl. XXXVIII., 1) and on the vase-painting of Chachrylios (below, pl. XXXV., 3)—recurs also in the Russian versions of the above-quoted fairy-tale which relates the miraculous impregnation of a woman by means of a caught fish: "A beggar advised the king to assemble girls and boys of seven years old, and to make *the maidens spin*[1] and the boys in one night *net together a net*, in which a carp with golden fins is to be caught for the queen to eat, when she will immediately become pregnant." In another one of Afanasieff's *Märchen* the beggar prescribes a *silken draw-net* netted by night for the same purpose.[2] There can finally be no doubt that the *Orphic mystery-doctrine* when it compares the generation of a living being to the netting of a net,[3] is thinking of this symbolic fish-net.

If, moreover, the comparison of the act of conception with fishing can be proved to be the common property of Jews as well as Greeks, we may quite legitimately presuppose the same metaphor also in a Christian monument like the epitaph of Aberkios. If the 'great' and 'clean fish' eaten by the faithful with bread and wine is to be understood for the Messiah,

[1] The Louvre Museum contains an until now unexplained early Babylonian sculpture (pl. lxv. after De Morgan, *Mém. Delég. en Perse*, Paris, 1900, tome i., pl. xi.), representing a woman spinning before a portable altar, on which the sacred or at least the sacrificial fish is seen to repose. The woman is beyond doubt spinning a 'lucky' fish-yarn, but it is quite possible that the whole rite is meant to ensure a 'fish' to herself, and should therefore be classed among the innumerable love- or fertility-charms. In any case the phallic symbolism of the spindle, the piercing of which causes the maiden to fall asleep, until awakened by a kiss, is well known to the folk-lore of all nations. According to Clemens Alex., v. 236f., the spun yarn (*mitos*) itself was symbolic of the *sperma* for the Orphic initiates; and the same idea recurs in the *Atharva Veda* xii. 17 (Scherman, p. 43): "Who has put into him (*sc.* man) the *sperma*, so that *the yarn* should be woven further and further?"

[2] Sydney Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, vol. i., p. 73.

[3] Plato, *Tim.* p. 1079; Aristotle, *De Gen. Anim.* ii. 1. 613c.; cp. my *Weltenmantel*, p. 242 n. 5. The mystery-term used in this connection is ΚΥΡΤΟΣ=10+20+17+19+15+18=**9**, and *isopsēphon* to the divine fish ΔΙΟΡΦΟΣ (below, p. 267).

then the 'Holy Virgin,' who has caught this 'Fish,' must be meant for the mother of the Christ, whether Mary, the mother of Jesus 'after the flesh,' or—as we prefer to believe with Conybeare[1] and Dölger,[2] considering the archaic character of the whole monument—the *spiritual mother* of the Logos, the personified Church.[3] Then the 'fount' from which she has 'caught,' that is conceived, can only be God the Father, who calls himself, according to *Jeremiah* 2$_{13}$, the fount of 'living waters,' who is described in Philo[4] as 'the most ancient ever-flowing fount of living water,' as the 'fountain of the most ancient Logos,' etc., and of whom the *Gospel of the Hebrews*[5] says, that as 'the fountain of the whole Holy Spirit' he descended on Jesus at the baptism in the Jordan, reposed on him and uttered the words: "Thou art *my first-born son*," etc.

Dölger[6] has shown that baptism itself was called a 'spring' or 'fountain' in the second century, and therefore proposes to introduce this sense of the mystery-word also into the Aberkios inscription. But

[1] *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* ix. 78.

[2] *Ichthys*, p. 97-112.

[3] For the Church as the mother of the Christ, see the testimonies collected by Conybeare, *l.c.*, namely Hippolyt., ch. 61, *De Antichr.*, p. 41, ed. Achelis, where he comments on the pregnant woman in *Rev.* 12$_{1-6}$: Clem. Alex., *Paedag.*, p. 102, Sylb., and the passage from Methodios quoted above, p. 251. Cp. further the Christmas sermon of Proklos, Archbishop of Constantinople (434-47 A.D.), Migne, *P.G.*, 65, 709b.: "Come ye and let us look at the invisible way of the ship, in the midst of the sea [*Prov. Sol.* 30$_{19}$], which has sunk into the deep the arch fiend, but fished [out of the sea] the first-created" (*sci.* the Messiah, as the heavenly Adam, one of the pre-mundane creations of God). Here again we have the idea of the 'ship,' that is according to so many testimonies (Wilpert, in Kraus' *Real. Encycl.* ii. 729ff.) the Church *fishing* the Christ out of the water. It is interesting to note, however, that in the later German Christmas carols, paralleled with Proklos' sermon by Usener, *Sintfluts*. 129, the 'ship' is explained as a symbol of Mary.

[4] *De fuga*, 32ff., i. 537, Mangey = §198, Wendland; *Qu. det. pot. ins.* i. 207; cp. *De somn.* ii. 1, 690.

[5] Quoted by Jerome, in his *Commentary to Isaiah* 11$_{7}$. [6] *o.c.* p. 95.

the testimonies[1] which he quotes, show clearly that baptism is only mystically called a fountain or spring, in so far as, according to the prophets,[2] God the 'fountain of living water' will make a mystic spring of redemption and cleansing gush forth in the Last Days, and in so far as the Christians (*Ep. Barnabæ*, ch. 11) identified this purificatory fountain or spring with the waters of baptism. If we interpret the 'Fish' (=Iēsous Christos Theou 'Yios Sōtēr,=Jesus, Messiah and *Son of God*) 'from the Fountain' in the sense of 'from the Baptism,' this would also give a good meaning along the line of the so-called Adoptionist theology,[3] which taught that Jesus became Christ and Son of God, not by his physical birth from the Virgin, but through the descent of the Spirit at the baptism in the Jordan. This doctrine, which was censured as heretical in later times, but which is according to Harnack the truly primitive Christian idea about the genesis of the Messiah, will still be found expressed in our inscription, even if 'Fish from the Fountain' should only mean the Messiah ben Nun descended from God, the 'Fountain of Living Water,' as long as the 'catching of the Fish by the Virgin' is understood as the mystic *conception of the Logos-Christ by the 'Church'*; because, according to the familiar idea of the Church 'regenerating' the neophyte, that is giving a second, new birth from above to the convert *by means of his baptism*, the Church can only be said to have *conceived* (=fished) *the Christ* at the moment when the Holy Spirit descended on the water and uttered the words: "Thou art my beloved son; to-day have I begotten thee."

[1] Cp. especially *Physiolog.* c. 6, "wash thrice in the ever-flowing *fountain of repentance*" with the Sibylline verse, "but *God* will give repentance."

[2] Cp. above, pp. 149ff., 177.

[3] Cp. article 'Adoptionism,' in Hasting's *Enc. Rel. and Ethics*.

There are, however, two possibilities, which would permit us to attribute a perfectly 'catholic' sense—in the later meaning of the term—to the poem of the Hieropolitan bishop The first would be to explain with Wilpert the 'Virgin,' who caught the 'Fish,' as the Virgin Mary, supposing, of course, in this case the existence of a corresponding legend concerning her virgin birth. The second would be to understand the 'catching of the Fish,' not as the *conception* of the Messiah by his *Mother*—whether St. Mary or the Holy Mother Church—but as the symbolic expression for the mystic union between the Messiah and his spiritual '*Bride*,' since the Church was even more frequently celebrated as the spouse of the Christ than as his mystic mother.

This shows at any rate that we must not *press* the meaning of any of these intentionally mysterious expressions, but content ourselves with guessing the principal meaning of the document, even if we cannot exactly determine by it the precise dogmatic position of the priestly poet.

Yet there is still one more surprise in store for the student who tries his wit on this much debated inscription; for I think it can amply be proved that where Aberkios invites him '*who understands this*' to pray for his soul, he means, even as the author of *Rev.* 13_{18}, also him 'who has understanding *to count the number*,' not only him who knows how to explain the mystery-*words*.

Indeed, first of all, the name *Aberkios* itself is an *isopsēphon* or numerical equivalent for 'fish.'

ΙΧΘΥΣ=9+22+8+20+18=**77**=1+2+5+17+10+9+15+18=ΑΒΕΡΚΙΟΣ,[1] implying that—according

[1] On the system of evaluating the letters 'according to their position in the alphabet,' see above, p. 116 n. 1.

to the expression of Tertullian (above, p. 252 n. 1)—Aberkios himself is a 'fish' or baptised Christian after the image of the 'great Fish' Jesus.

This fact is all the more striking, since in the Church History of Eusebius the name of the bishop of Hieropolis is not spelt Aberkios but Avirkios Markellos. This suggests at once that the spelling of the name on the tombstone—and also in the Byzantine Life of Aberkios—was adopted *intentionally* by the bishop because of its arithmomantic connection with Ichthys. But what are we to say, if we find that 'Avirkios' too yields a mystic number?

ΑΥΙΡΚΙΟΣ=1+20+9+17+10+9+15+18=**99**

which is again the famous and frequently recurring magical number of 'Pythagoras,'

ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ=16+20+8+1×3+15+17+1+18=**99**

and of the 'Divine Fish' Di-orphos,

ΔΙΟΡΦΟΣ=4+9+15+17+21+15+18=**99**

mentioned as the son of Mithras in the Pseudo-Plutarchian treatise on the names of rivers and mountains,[1] most probably the mythic representative of the sacred *orphoi*-fishes, which were revered on the coasts of Asia Minor. Is it too bold to conclude from so remarkable a coincidence, that this man Avirkios seems to have been *a member of an Orphic and Pythagorean mystery-society before he became a Christian*, and that, like many other Pythagoreans,[2] he bore an arithmomantically significant name? that he changed the spelling of his name—as another Saulos-Paulos[2]—in order to Christianise it through the new numerical allusion to the famous Ichthys formula?

If this be the case, it is only natural that he should have used the traditional Orphic and Pytha-

[1] Cp. above, p. 20 n. 1.

[2] Cp. above, p. 120 note.

gorean number-lore also in his Christian mystery-poem. Indeed, we can hardly doubt that he really meant to do so. When he characterises his episcopal town of Hieropolis as a 'select,' 'elect city' (*eklektē polis*), he is probably alluding to the coincidence, that 'Hieropolis,'

ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ=9+5+17+15+16+15+11+9+18=**115**

is a numerical equivalent of 'Jerusalem,'

ΙΕΡΟΥΣΑΛΗΜ=9+5+17+15+20+18+1+11+7+12=**115**

the 'holy city' *par excellence*,[1] and the terrestrial antetype of the Church as the 'new' or 'heavenly' Jerusalem; when again Aberkios calls himself the 'disciple' of a 'shepherd,' he was almost certainly playing on the *isopsēphia* of the Greek words for 'shepherd' and 'disciple,'

ΠΟΙΜΗΝ=16+15+9+12+7+13=**72**=12+1+8+7+19+7+18=ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ[2]

If he calls—according to Pitra's convincing restoration—the gospels 'writings of Life,' he could hardly be ignorant that the word 'writings'

[1] Indeed Jerusalem *is* regularly called Hieropolis by Philo. That the Alexandrian did so for reasons of 'isopsēphy' would be difficult to prove, in spite of the marked Neo-Pythagorean features in his philosophy. But since Josephus, in his *Contra Apionem* i. 22, offers the otherwise quite inexplicable form 'Jerosalēmēn,' the one merit of which is to yield again the number 115 of Hieropolis, it is probable that Philo too was moved by the consideration of this gematria.

[2] There is every probability, that he did not himself invent this isopsēphic pair of mystery-terms. The name Orpheus itself—which is manifestly anterior to all Pythagorean number-symbolism—does not accordingly yield a very significant *psēphos* (96). But we find the name spelt Orphas (ΟΡΦΑΣ), *which yields* **72**, *the number of* ΠΟΙΜΗΝ (*shepherd*) *and* ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ (*disciple*), on the treasury of the Sikyonians in Delphi (Roscher, *Myth. Lex.*, *s.v.* 'Orpheus,' c. 1062, l. 29), even as on a vase-painting from Ruvo (*o.c.*, c. 1180, l. 2) an Orpheus-picture is inscribed with the name ΟΙΦΕΥΣ (=the 'bucking one,' suggesting the idea of a phallic demon, which is not astonishing in a Dionysiac figure—cp. the vase-painting, with an erotic *symplegma* close by the lyre-playing Orpheus, *Ann. d. Ist*, xvii., 1845, *tav. d' agg.* M.—and in a mystic 'fisher'—cp. above, p. 263), yielding the number **88**.

ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ=3+17+1+12+12+1+19+7=**66**
and 'of Life'

ΖΩΗΣ=6+24+7+18=**55**, together 121=11×11.

Again the crucial question, who is the 'Queen,' whom Aberkios intends to visit at Rome, is answered already by the fact that the numerical value of the word *basilissa*, which the inscription uses here, is equal to that of the name '*Jesus*' (above, p. 116)

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ=2+1+18+9+11+9+18+18+1=**87**=ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.

This means the 'Queen' is the 'Church,' who—being *isotelēs*, that is 'of equal worth' with Jesus—becomes his mystic bride.[1]

Again, the 'shining seal' is also numerically characterised as being identical with the 'name of Jesus,' the mark, with which the faithful are sealed through baptism[2]:

ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ=18+21+17+1+3+9+18=87=ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.

But the most interesting feature of this highly complicated mystery-poem is the sum 318, which is arrived at by evaluating numerically the words 'a Fish from a Fountain, a world-wide and clean one':

ΙΧΘΥΣ=9+22+8+20+18	= 77
ΑΠΟ=1+16+15	= 32
ΠΗΓΗΣ=16+7+3+7+18	= 51
ΠΑΝΜΕΓΕΘΗΣ=16+1+13+12+5+3+5+8+7+18	= 88
ΚΑΘΑΡΟΣ=10+1+8+1+17+15+18	= 70
	318

[1] Cp. Hippolyt., ed. Bonwetsch i. 1, 369, quoted by Dölger, p. 103 n. 4. I have given many instances for pairs of pagan divinities with 'isopsephic' names (*e.g.* ΖΕΥΣ=49=ΚΟΡΗ, ΖΑΣ=25=ΗΡΑ), in Pherecydes, in my *Weltenmantel.*

[2] Cp. Hippol. Comm. to Daniel iv. 34, where Jesus, the son of God, is called the 'final seal.'

For this very number—written by the Greek TIH—is explained by the author of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (9_8), a document from the time of the Emperor Hadrian and certainly anterior to Aberkios, by Clemens of Alexandria, by Hippolytus of Rome, and the African writer Pseudo-Cyprian,[1] as symbolising *Jesus* by the letters IH,[2] and *the cross* by the figure T. There can be little doubt that even as Augustine in his formula '*piscis assus est Christus passus*'— Aberkios wanted to characterise the eaten 'fish' as the symbol of the suffering Messiah (above, p. 253 n. 1).

If we observe finally, that the words for 'bread' and 'wine'

ΟΙΝΟΣ=15+9+13+15+18=70=1+17+19+15+18 =ΑΡΤΟΣ

in the line about the mystic communion-meal of the Eucharist, are *isopsephic* and that *kerasma* (=mixture of wine and water)

ΚΕΡΑΣΜΑ=10+5+17+1+18+12+1=64[3]

is numerically equivalent to the word *halieus* for the mystic 'Fisher' (ΑΛΙΕΥΣ, above, p. 124), we have mentioned the principal features of arithmomantic mysticism in this strange epitaph.

[1] See the full quotations in Dölger's work, p. 356.

[2] See the epigraphic examples for the familiar use of this abbreviation for 'Jesus' collected by Dölger, pp. 356-358, 382.

[3] Cp. above, p. 124 n. 2, on the many mystic peculiarities of this number.

APPENDICES.

I.

THE MYSTIC FISHING-SCENE IN THE BAKCHEION OF MELOS, AND LUCIAN'S PARODY OF THE MAN-FISHING RITE.

PERHAPS the most important monument of Greek mysticism, which a kind fate has handed over to our historic curiosity, seems to be the mosaic pavement of the Bakchic mystery-hall,[1] which the British school of Athens, under the direction of Messrs. R. C. Bosanquet, D. Mackenzie and Cecil Smith, unearthed in May, 1896, at Tramithia, on the island of Milo, the ancient Melos.[2] The roof of this sanctuary—the plan of which resembles the *telestērion* of the Bakchic initiates at Athens—was supported by seven columns on each side, the entrance being probably situated on the narrower side to the west, the altar on the east side. The floor was decorated with the following five panels, enumerated as they succeed each other from the entrance to the altar: (1) decorated with a geometric pattern; (2) probably a figure-subject, now completely destroyed; (3) a large central, double-sized panel with geometric pattern; (4) decorated with the reproduction of a *circular pond*

[1] Cp. *Dion. Prus.* I. 33, p. 163, 21ff., about a man about to be initiated and introduced '*eis mystikon tina oikon.*'

[2] The intention of the building is ascertained beyond doubt by the following monuments: an inscription, which mentions one 'Alexander, the founder of the [society of the] holy initiates'; the statue of a priest with the ivy and flower wreath of Dionysos inscribed: 'Marcus Marius Trophimus, the hierophant—the initiates'; an altar or basis inscribed 'to Dionysos Trieterikos' (='D. of the mystic feast celebrated every 3rd year'; cp. the 52nd hymn of the Orphic prayer-book, which addresses Bakchos Trieterikos); and a bust of Aurelia Euposia 'dedicated by the initiates of the altar in her own building' (*Journ. Hell. Studies*, xviii. 74-80.). On other examples of such 'bakcheia' or Orphic Mystery halls sometimes in private houses (*Paus.* I., 2, 5 on Pulytion's house) as the earliest Christian cult rooms, see Kern in *Pauly-Wiss* II., 2783, 4469.

or piscina full of water, containing all kinds of fish, in the midst of them a barge (restored) *with a fisherman* in it, holding, by means of a fishing-line, "the loose end of which passes under his left arm" (*l.c.* p. 72), "*a globular object with a slender neck*," which "*looks like nothing so much as a gourd-shaped glass bottle, three parts full of a dark purple liquid the upper part being empty and transparent*" (p. 73). Around the pond are grouped four Dionysian theatre-masks. Over the fisherman's head we read the inscription:

MONON MH ΥΔΩΡ = 'ONLY NO WATER!'

In spite of the inscription, which sounds like nothing so much as the popular German proverb of our merry anti-temperance men '*nur koa wåsser!*'[1] the bottle-like object has admittedly 'baffled' the English excavators, because it 'does not correspond with any known kind of fishing appliance.'

This is certainly most true and undeniable as long as we think of real fish, which no sane fisherman would try to capture in a wine-bottle. But things appear in an altogether different aspect if this is—as I do not doubt for a moment—a representation of *a scene from the mysteries*, namely of the mystic *man-fishing of initiation*, of the priestly 'fisher' alluring, with the inspiring, soul-exciting, sacred drink of Dionysos, the *mystæ* who have dressed themselves up

[1] Sir John Sandys, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xviii. 72, has tried to explain this inscription by comparing it with an epigram of Martial (I. xxxv.), who says of an ancient Greek chased silver bowl, decorated with fishes: "Look at the fishes, add water: they'll swim." He thinks that the artist meant to say: The fishes in my mosaic would certainly swim—life-like as they are—'only (that they have) no water.' This clever suggestion will not work, however, —as Prof. Crusius kindly reminds me—for the very simple grammatical reason that this would have to be *monon ouχ hydōr*—not *monon mē hydōr*—in Greek, where even in the most vulgar and debased language the difference between *ou* and *mē* was never forgotten.

as 'dolphins' and 'fishes,' and have received in this attire the symbolic 'baptism' or drowning of their Titanic nature, and perhaps also eaten of the sacred *bakchos*-fish. As to the *symbolon*[1] 'only no water,' it becomes easily intelligible, if we remember that Empedocles[2] calls the real, aquatic fish '*hydatothremmones*'=the 'waterfed ones'; thus the inscription says: 'Fishes have they become, only do not give them water any more'! The cup of unmixed wine[3] will make them real *bakchoi !*

It is quite characteristic that the only literary texts which compare with our monument, are certain parodistic allusions in comic authors and the remarkable passage in Plato's *Sophistes* (221 B) where the great Athenian philosopher compares the disciple hunting professional conversationalist of his age satirically to the '*aspalieutes*' or 'fisherman.'[4] As Aristophanes has boldly satirised the Bakchic initiation of the candidate by the Silenus in the scene between Socrates and Strepsiades in his *Clouds*, which has been so cleverly analysed by Miss Jane E. Harrison,[5] even so an unknown comic author, who knew both the fish-masquerade of the Dionysian initiates and the corresponding cult-*symbolon* 'only no water,' has satirised the myth of the '*thyrsiones*,' by saying, that

[1] Cp. the '*symbola*' and '*akousmata*' of the Pythagoreans (Diels, *Fragm.* I. p. 279ff.), all of which are similar short sentences with *mē*, e.g. '*kardian mē esthiein*,' 'not eat the heart!' etc.

[2] *On Nature*, fr. 21 v. 11 and fr. 22 v. 10 (ed. Diels, *Fragm. Vorsocr.* I. 181f.).

[3] Dionysos is the god of unmixed wine, *akratophoros* (Gruppe, *Hdb.* p. 1413 n. 4, p. 1414, n. 1). One of the minor demons in his pageant is called *Akratos* or *Akratopotes*=Drinker of unmixed wine (*ibid.* p. 40 n. 8).

[4] '*Aspalos*'='fish,' a word of unknown etymology, probably altogether prehellenic is quoted by Hesych from the language of the Athamantes, a semi-barbarous Epirotic tribe closely related, according to Ovidius, *met.* xv. 311, to the Dodonacan oracle (cp. above p. 35).

[5] *Prolegomena to the study of Greek Religion.*

the god changed them into fishes, because they were wine-mongers and had 'baptised'—that is falsified—wine with water![1]

On the other hand, we have two highly characteristic passages in the works of Lucian, whose sharp stylus did not spare a single one of the philosophic schools of his time, any more than Jews or Christians, who ridiculed Mithras as well as Cybele, and Isis no less than the Syrian goddess. This delightfully frivolous author, in his fantastic traveller's diary, *The True History* (chap. ii.), describes how he travelled eighty days and nights westward from the so-called 'Columns of Heracles'—which is the Strait of Gibraltar,—when he suddenly reached an unknown island, where he finds a Greek inscription: "Unto this place Heracles and Dionysos have come" (on their journey). There they find the footprints of the two gods, and besides, as definite proofs that Dionysos had once blessed the island with his presence, a deep river full of Chios wine, which has its source in the roots of certain marvellous living vines. *In this wine river they find a multitude of fish*, which resembled wine in taste and colour, and *inebriated* those that ate them, so that you had to mix them with ordinary water-fish, to mitigate their excessive vinosity.

This passage alone would of course not suffice to prove Lucian's acquaintance with the wine-bibbing 'fish' of the Dionysian mysteries; we have, however, a still more interesting and unmistakable allusion in his charming dialogue *The Fisherman or the Revenants*. The great satirist represents himself as sitting, together with Truth, Philosophy, and other Virtues, as well as with Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Diogenes

[1] Schol. Oppian. *Hal.* I. 649, p. 295, 18.

and the other great philosophers of the past, on the Acropolis of Athens. There he borrows from the priestess of the sanctuary, a fishing rod and line, which has been dedicated by a fisherman of the Piræus to Athēnē Polias[1]; he then puts a fig and a gold-piece[2] as bait on the end of the line, and dangles it from the battlements of the Acropolis towards the different quarters of Athens, *to fish philosophers*. The many who get caught by this powerful bait, are thrown down again from the rock as worthless pretenders. In the end Philosophy bids Lucian crown the few true philosophers of his age with a wreath and *brand the others with the sign of a fox* or of an ape. I think it is manifest, now, that Lucian playfully alludes to the Dionysian fishing of the initiates, even as Aristophanes has likened the 'thinking shop' of Socrates to an Orphic mystery-hall and Plato himself the 'sophist' to an angler; hence the delightful ambiguity of the whole man-fishing scene. The fig—besides its transparent symbolic value—is an allusion to the phallic 'fig'-Dionysos, 'Sykeatēs,'[3] and to '*the fig as the guide to a holy life*,' the '*holy* fig' of the mysteries[4]; the wreathed few true philosophers are the few true *bakchoi*, with the sacred ivy-wreath, among the many wand-bearers; while the *branding* of the false philosophers *as foxes*, or sly hypocrites, alludes to the

[1] There are Attic coins that show the head of Athēnē and some fishes (Imhoof-Blumer, *Tier- u. Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen*, pl. iii., nos. 29f.; pl. vi. no. 46).

[2] Cp. on the sausage and the purse in the modern man-fishing rite of Laufen my paper in '*Bayrische Hefte für Volkskunde*' II. 1915, p. 74, n. 1. The fig is of course meant here as the well-known sex-symbol, as though to say, lust and lucre.

[3] Sosibios in Athen. III. xiv. p. 78c; Hesych *s.v.*

[4] See on these evident mystery-terms Athen. iii. 6, p. 74d, Hesych. and Phot. *s.vv.* '*hiera sykē*.'

'stigmatised initiates'[1] and the '*bassarai*'[2] or she-*foxes* of the Bakchic mysteries.

It may not be too bold, therefore, to use the satyric parody of Lucian as a means for reconstructing the Dionysian man-fishing rite. There was certainly no room for a real immersion in water in or near the mystery-hall of Melos; so we may then suppose that some water was poured on to the panel of the mosaic floor which shows the fishing-scene; the initiates were then made to step into this water and then a priestly initiate of the god, clad in a fawn-skin, washed away the clay, with which their faces had been besmeared, by pouring water over them from a bowl (cp. Demosth *de cor.* 313). Then fish-masks may have been given them or fish-tails may have been fastened to their backs (above pls. XVII. and XIX.). Finally *the priestly 'fishermen,'* probably standing on the spot of the floor which is marked by the little mosaic barge, may have offered them—to the soundof lyre and lute music (above p. 17) performed by the song- and dance-leaders of the *thiasos*, who are mentioned in several inscriptions—*a draught of wine from a full glass-bottle, suspended at the end of a fishing-line*, in the way illustrated on the Melian mosaic. Finally, a noose or net may have been cast over (cp. above p. 272$_4$) or fastened round the initiate (cp. above p. 74) or he may have been pushed or driven or led into the meshes of a net by the 'dolphins' (thyrsiones).[3] This seems to follow from the fact that we have a great

[1] '*Bromio signatae mystides*' are mentioned in the sepulcral poem *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* III. 686. On the ivy-leaf used as a brand-mark of the Bakchic initiates see *III. Maccab.* ii. 29. 30, and the other passages quoted by Dölger *Sphragis*, Paderborn, 1911, p. 42f.

[2] 'Foxes' and once even an arch-vixen (*archibassara* are mentioned in the Dionysian inscriptions and in literary texts). See Gruppe, *Hdb.* p. 213 n.16; p. 1410 n. 9; *Journ. Hell. Stud. l.c.* p. 79. Above p. 26 n. 1 and 27, also pl. xiv.

[3] Cp. my paper in *Bayr. Hefte f. Volkskunde* II., 1915, p. 92.

many inscriptions, where a local Orphic or Dionysian community, church, *thiasos*, or however one should call it, is mentioned as the *speira* (Lat. *spira*) of the place.[1] Now this word means a 'mesh' of a net, but it is also a technical term for the cord which passes through the top meshes of a net and serves to draw it together, when the catch is in it.[2] The adherence of the new member to the 'net' of the community was certainly somehow symbolised in the initiation act, were it only by the neophyte's touching it, as the boy running after the naval car of Dionysos and the drag hanging down from its stern apparently suggests, on the Attic vase painting reproduced on p. 216 of my paper in the *Bavarian Folklore Journal*, I., 1914.

II.

THE 'LAKE OF ORPHEUS' IN ROME AND THE ORPHIC PISCINE IN UTINA.

HOWEVER plausible it may be to suppose that in the *telestērion* of Melos the Dionysian baptism and subsequent 'fishing' were only symbolically enacted on dry land (above p. 276), it is nevertheless highly pro-

[1] See *e.g.* Buresch, *Lydia*, 11, no. 8: the *speira* of Dionysos *Kathēgemōn* (= 'the leader' *videl.* of the mystic way) with its 'cattle herds'; the *speira* of the Midapeditēs, again with the 'guide' Dionysos for their leading god in Pergamon (Ziebarth, *Griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 50); a *speira* with an *hierophantēs telesphoros* (a 'teacher of the secrets,' who can lead to perfection), *Revue Étud. anc.* iii. 275; the Dionysian *speira* of the *Asianoi* with a *speirarchos*, 'leader of the net,' Ziebarth, *l.c.*, p. 56; the *speira* of the Romans in Tomi; the *speira* of the Traianesians (inhabitants of the Traianian harbour of Ostia near Rome), Ziebarth, *l.c.*, p. 62; *ibid.* the '*sacred speira*' of Dionysos; *Corpus Inscr. Lat.* vi. 261, the basis of a statue of Hekatē (cp. above, p. 4 n. 2) dedicated by the *spira* of the place. Other mentions of the *spiræ* and the *spirarchēs* in Wissowa's *Hdb. of Roman Religion*, p. 248 n. 6. Note that ΣΠΕΙΡΑ=18+16+5+9+17+1=66=ΛΙΝΟΣ (above pp. 120 note and 269).

[2] See on the *spira* as the string surrounding the drag-net of the *retiarius* (above p. 273) Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionn. des Antiq. class.*, *s.v.* '*gladiator*,' col. 1586.

bable that in some Orphic communities real immersion and fishing ceremonies were practised. At least, this seems the only explanation for the fact that there existed at Rome an artificial '*Lake of Orpheus*' of circular shape surrounded by steps, so that the whole building resembled a theatre, that is the old Dionysian stage. On the top row of the steps was placed a plastic group of Orpheus surrounded by his beasts and by birds,[1] the sacred fish or '*orphoi*,' being probably kept in the 'lake' or artificial pond itself. Of this structure nothing remains, but the Roman churches *S. Agata e S. Lucia in Orfea* and *S. Martino in Orfea* have still preserved the name.

On such a pond or lake[2]—in Greek the *limnē* of the 'Dionysos of the Lake'—a sacred barge or ship (above pl. XLV. and p. 272) would have to be used for the ceremony. This would explain the late, yet quite unsuspicious, tradition[3] that Orpheus was the inventor of ship building. As a Christian baptism had not necessarily to be performed in a special 'baptistery,' as the Jewish 'bath of the proselytes' could be performed in any public bath, and as Apuleius was taken by the priest of Isis 'to the *next* baths'[4] to receive his baptism of initiation, even so the Dionysian immersion could probably be performed

[1] Martial x. 19, 6; *Notitia urbis regionum* xiv., *reg.* v., *Esquiliana*; see Gruppe in Roscher's *Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'Orpheus,' col. 1194, and Richter, *Topographie v. Rom.* 2nd edit. Munich, 1901, p. 372.

[2] The Pompeian fresco, Presuhn, *Ausgr. v. Pomp.* 3, 6, shows the lyre-playing Orpheus sitting on the bank of a little pool.

[3] *Who built the first ship? Orpheus the teacher of Hercules*"; question and answer in a little Middle-Latin conversation-book of the 6th century A.D. (Max Foerster, *Roman. Forschungen*, xxvii. p. 342ff.). This is obviously a late echo of the extensive ancient literature on 'inventions' ('*heurēmata*'), other remains of which abound, *e.g.* in Pliny. As to the unusual statement of Orpheus being the teacher of Heraklēs—the function being generally attributed to Linos—cp. the Pompeian fresco, Helbig, *Camp. Wandgem.*, no. 893, illustr. *ibid.*, pl. x., which shows the figures of Orpheus and Heraklēs (both inscribed with their names) as leaders of the nine Muses.

[4] *Metam.* xi., '*ad proximas balneas*.'

in any bath that offered the necessary seclusion from profane spectators. At least the mosaics which remain from the Roman 'House of the *Laberii*' in Uthina (now Oudna, in North Africa) strongly suggest the possibility that such a use was made of the *piscina* or 'fishpond'—as the basins for the cold bath were commonly called[1]—in the private baths of this villa. There the pavements in the different rooms of the house itself exhibit: two different versions of the *fishing-scene*, which we have found in the Bakcheion of Melos as symbolic of Dionysos *Halieus;* medallions of Helios—the god, whom Orpheus is said to have adored on the Pangaion,[2]—and of Athene—the goddess, who is said to have saved the heart of the dismembered Dionysos;[3] side by side with medallions of Bakchos, Silenus and Pan; then *Dionysos* in the middle of a *great vintage scene;* and a panel with *hunting scenes*, symbolic of Dionysos as Zagreus or the '*grand veneur*' (above pls. V., VI., VII.), and with scenes from the life of the *herdsmen*,[4] who play such an important mystic *rôle* in the cult and myths of Dionysos Poimēn[5] (above p. 181). The bath-house or *thermæ* of the villa, which was first mistaken for a Christian basilica by the French excavators, shows in immediate juxtaposition with the

[1] Cp. Doelger, *Ichthys*, p. 5, nn. 1 and 2; *ibid.* pp. 85f., the author gives testimonies for the Christian baptism being performed in the cold baths of private houses, and tells the interesting story, how the *thermæ*, or private baths, of one Novatius were turned into a Christian baptistery in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Later, the water-basin proper of the baptismal font was termed 'lacus,' which compares with the 'lacus Orphi' above p. 273, n. 1.

[2] See Gruppe in Roscher's *Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'Orpheus,' coll. 1199$_{50-60}$, 1084$_{44}$, 1092$_{61}$.

[3] Abel, *Fragm. Orph.* 198-200.

[4] Cp. especially the milking scene with the Christian counterpart on our pl. xli.

[5] The only subject in the house which does not apparently belong to the Dionysian circle, is Europa on the bull. But see Gruppe, p. 403$_{9}$, on Europa as a ritual symbol of the soul carried over the boundary waters of Hades by the bull god.

piscina, a mosaic of Orpheus playing the seven-stringed lyre in the midst of the enraptured animals, so that this artificial pond, filled with running water by a special aqueduct, appears to be an exact counterpart to the above-described 'lake of Orpheus' in Rome.[1]

III.

THE DIONYSIAN VINTAGE-FEAST AND THE COMMUNION SACRAMENT OF THE NEW GRAPES.

THE comparison of the Melian mosaic with the above-mentioned African parallels proves that the juxtaposition of the panel with the vines surrounding the altar, with the hare, the kids or wild goats[2] (*eriphoi*) and the birds, a cock, a crane and several jays (*kissai* or 'ivy-birds' in Greek[3]), all of which are busily pecking the clusters of the sacred plant, is certainly not due to a mere decorator's fancy. The cult-symbolism of this vintage-scene as well as of the corresponding composition in Uthina and of the vine-frieze surrounding the 'triumph of Bakchos' near the fishing-scene on the Hadrumetum mosaic is easily explained: we know from an inscription of the initiates of Dionysos *Botrys* (the 'grape'), in Western Thracia,[4] that, especially in the

[1] See reproductions of all these mosaics in *Monuments Piot*, vol. iii. pp. 177, 229, and pll. xx., xxii. Another mosaic with the *fisher-scene* has been found in a building of the ancient Hadrumetum (now Sousse) in front of the apse, to the left of which there is a great mosaic with the *triumph of Dionysos*, while on the right side of a destroyed composition there remain medallions with animals, a ship and a Ganymede carried off by the eagle, the image of the soul, that ascends to heaven (*Dieterich Mithrasliturgie*, p. 184, n. 3), to share there the everlasting banquet of the gods (*Revue archéol.*, 1897, II. pl. xi. pp. 8-22). A little statue of Dionysos was also found on the spot.

[2] Cp. the coloured detail plate ii. in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xviii.

[3] On the jay or *kissa* being sacred to Dionysos, see Corn. 86, p. 184.

[4] Found in Alistrati. See *Bull. corr. hell.*, 1900, p. 317; cp. Papadopoulos Kerameus ('*Syllogos*' of Constantinoples, *parartêma* xvi. p. 108.). Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, p. 89. A coarsely sculptured grape is figured on top of the inscribed slab.

mysteries, the god was not only worshipped as the protector or donor of the vine, but also as the 'spirit' incarnated bodily in the grapes[1] and in the vine. Such ideas are evidently survivals of a primitive fetishistic, scarcely animistic stage of religion, yet none the less historic realities, even if unlikely to be congenial to the developed spiritualised and systematic theology of later ages.

If Cotta, the Academician, in his polemic against the Stoics,[2] asks whether, though the *corn is sometimes called*, by way of a familiar metaphor,[3] *Ceres* and *the wine Bakchos*, you would expect anyone to be so foolish as *to believe what he eats to be a god?*—the answer cannot be the negative anticipated by Cotta, when we remember the numerous instances of theophagic rites which modern folk-lore has put on record. Indeed the 'mystic vine' of Dionysos,[4] or rather its grapes, were beyond doubt sacramentally eaten by the initiates, in an annual celebration, at the time when the earliest grapes could be gathered in the most favoured sun-flooded corners of the god's sacred vineyard.[5] We have

[1] Cp. the Pompeian fresco (*Gazette archéol.* 1880, p. 10, pl. 2) on our pl. lxxi.; the head in the Vatican with grapes sprouting out of the god's hair and beard (Mueller-Wieseler, Denkin, 2,344), and the characteristic wine-bottle on pl. lxviii. Analogous ideas underlie the Aryan-cult of the deified Soma—or Haoma—drink.

[2] Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* iii. 16, 41.

[3] "*Genere quidem sermonis usitato*," that is with a figure of speech, which was called *katachrēsis* in the Hellenistic theory of rhetoric.

[4] Lygdamus (in the 3rd book of Tibull's 'Elegiacs') 61.

[5] There was an anticipated vintage-feast celebrated in August with the grapes of a specially precocious and probably specially tended sacred vine. I believe, that it is this peculiar feast-day, which is meant in the glossary of Hesychius s.v. '*protrygaia*'='anticipated vintage.' If Hesychius says that this day is sacred to Dionysos *and Poseidon*, we are immediately reminded of the fishing-scene coupled with the vintage or the sacred vine in the Melian and North-African mosaics, since *Poseidon Agreus* (Diodor. v. 69_4; Lucian, *Piscat.* 47; Anthol. Palat. vi. 38, Varro. iii. 17_2, etc.) = 'the Fisher' is of course the patron-god of fishery and a genuine doublet to Dionysos *Zagreus* and *Halieus*. Cp. also the legend about Dionysos fighting Poseidon for the island of Naxos (Plutarch. *Qu. Conv.* ix. 6), which reflects the conquest of an old sanctuary of the Phenician fisher-god Ba'al-Sidon (above, p. 28) by

in fact a fragment of Euphorion,[1] which tells us about the following regularly-recurring miracle of the god: while the women are dancing frenziedly in honour of Dionysos during his annual mysteries, the mysterious *ephemeral or one-day grapes* are ripened; they begin ripening in the morning, are mature at noon, made must of in the evening, and *this fresh must does not diminish or come to an end* before the termination of the feast, *however much may be drunk of it.*

It is most certainly this sacramental vintage and communion of the newly-ripened grapes, which is meant in the vines- and vintage-mosaics both of the Melian and the kindred North African mosaic pavements, and possibly also on the two decorative companion vases (pl. xxxvi.), where a Mænad with the grape-bunch and the mystic chest in her hand forms the counterpart to the Bakchic 'fisher.'

When Prof. Bosanquet published the above illustrated mosaic from the mystery hall of Milo, he immediately called attention tot he numerous parallels which early Christian art offers to the panel with the vines; he mentions as an example of the adoption of a perfectly pagan design the famous vintage-mosaic on the ceiling of the ambulatory of S. Costanza at Rome[2]), a Church built about the middle of the fourth century, where little *amorini*—that is angelic *genii*, or glorified souls, as they were typified in the earliest stage of Christian iconography—are seen to pluck the grapes,

the more recent Thracian and Greek fisher-god Dionysos Halieus. At Hyrie, Anthedon and Tanagra (Gruppe, *Hdb.* 619) the kindred gods Dionysos and Poseidon are found side by side, without any trace of their pre-historic rivalry.

[1] *Fragm.* 132; Meineke, *Anal. Alex.*, p. 144, Schol. Townl. (cp. Schol. A B D) to N 21. See H. Usener, *Der hl. Tychon*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 32 n. 2.

[2] de Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani* XVII., XVIII. Coloured paper casts and coloured drawings in the South Kensington Museum according to Bosanquet, I., p. 69f.

to lead the wains and to tread the wine-press. The same *motive* is to be found in exactly the same execution in the above mentioned—*Dionysiac*—mosaics of Northern Africa. "The same symbolism," says Prof. Bosanquet quite correctly, "is Dionysiac in the one case, Christian in the other,"[1] *e.g.*, in the mosaic paved apse of Ancona, where every leaf of the vine has the form of a cross and the words of Isaiah V.1, are added in the Vulgate version as an inscription.[2]

Moreover Prof. Bosanquet has accurately observed —in spite of his having overlooked Tümpel's paper on Dionysos Halieus[3]) and therefore also the Dionysiac symbolism of the fishing-scene in Melos, Hadrumetum, Uthina, etc.—that in the North African *Christian* mosaics of Orléansville (Algier) and of Sertei—in the ancient Mauretanian *Sitifiene* (pl. LXX.)—we can observe the same juxtaposition of the fishing-scene with the sacred vine as we have found it in the Bakcheion of Melos, perhaps because to the Christian the fish as well as the vine had a mystic meaning.[4]

As a matter of fact this combination is by no means confined to Christian art in the African province.

[1] Prof. O. Wulff, director of the department of early Christian antiquities in the Berlin Kaiser Friedrich's museum, has gone so far (*Altchristl. u. Byzant. Kunst*, Berlin, 1913, p. 315) as to think *a Christian origin* possible for the mosaics of the Melian mystery hall. This is quite out of the question for one who remembers the characteristic finds mentioned above, but it is a very significant error.

[2] Beside the Christian mosaics of this type from Syria and Palestine (Kabr-Hiram, Jerusalem, Madeba, etc., Bosanquet, *l.c.*, p. 70) many other instances might be quoted : see E. Le Blant, *Recherches sur l'histoire de la parable de la vigne aux premiers siècles chrétiens*, Paris, 1869; Künstle, in *Kraus Realencycl.*, II., 982. The vintage scene on sarcophagi, *e.g.* Le Blant, *Sarcoph. d la Gaule*, p. 44, 70, 84, 94, 151, and the porphyry-sarcophagus of Constantia, the daughter of Constantine, Visconti, *Museo Pio-Clementino*, VII., 11f. Cp. further Kraus, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kunst*, I., 122f.

[3] *Philologus* N.F. II., 1889, p. 682.

[4] I., cp. 70, n. 1.

In the very Church of S. Costanza, from the ambulatory of which Prof. Bosanquet has quoted the vintage-scene with the *amorini*, there were also in the cupola friezes with fishing scenes resembling those reproduced on our pl. L.[1]

Still more important is the fact, that we find a typical example of a vault ornamented with the mystic vine (pl. LXXI), in the very same catacomb of the Flavians in S. Domitilla, which contains some of the earliest monuments of Christian funeral art (end of first century A.D.), and among them the Orphic symbol-group of the lamb and the milk-pail (above pls. XXXIX.-III. and XLV.), and side by side with it the oldest examples of the angling fisher in Christian art (above pls. XXXIX., XLIV.) and of the messianic fisher-meal (reproduced on our pl. XLIV., fig. 2, ch. XXVIII.).

IV.

THE FISHERMEN IN THE DIONYSIAN INITIATION-SCENES FROM THE ROMAN VILLA IN THE FARNESINA GARDEN.

THE most instructive representation of the Bakchic grape-sacrament, however—again side by side with the image of the Dionysian fishing-rite—is to be found in the delightful plasterwork from the ceilings of a small Roman villa, which has been excavated in the garden of the world-famous Villa Farnesina on the shore of

[1] Cp. above, p. 168, n. 5, and de Rossi, *Mus.* Crist., tav. 4.

the Tiber in 1878, and is now on view in the Museo delle Terme in Rome.[1]

The building was sumptuously decorated in a style which combined the features of a select town-house with those of a country villa. Its date is unanimously placed in the period of Cæsar or Augustus. A recent and certainly somewhat audacious conjecture of a German scholar[2] would have it that it was built by Cæsar for Cleopatra, when he received the visit of the Egyptian Queen in Rome. This hypothesis would account, as well for the selection of the specific Dionysian elements in the decoration, which are the subject of this chapter—since the cult of Dionysos, the alleged ancestor of the Ptolemæans, was the official religion of the royal family of Alexandria[3]—as for the occasional occurrence of such Hellenised Egyptian types as the Zeus Ammon, mentioned below p. 292, and finally also for the addition of erotic scenes and of the fine Aphroditē[4] picture in one of the rooms.

The marvellous beauty and delicacy of the plaster-work and of some of the frescoes—among the latter signed masterpieces of one Seleukos—really make the villa seem worthy of accommodating a royal guest. But, on the contrary, the house may quite well have been the property of some other person, devoted to the cult of Bakchos and Aphroditē, the patrons of life's

[1] There are excellent photographs of all these monuments by Alinari' lithographic reproductions in the 'Supplements' to the *Monumenti dell' Istituto archeologico* (plate numbers quoted in the course of the description), and in a separate edition of the same plates under the title: Lessing and Mau, *Wandschmuck eines römischen Hauses*, etc.

[2] Ippel, *Der dritte pompejanische Stil*, p. 41.

[3] Cp. for instance the Bakchic still-life scene on the celebrated 'cup of the Ptolemæans,' Furtwängler, *Gemmen*, vol. iii., figg. 108ᵃf.

[4] The reader will perhaps remember that Venus was claimed as his mythic ancestor by Julius Cæsar, and Cleopatra was certainly not less fervent a worshipper of Aphroditē as Queen Berenikē.

chief amenities, perhaps of a man who had some connection with the stage, of a great actor, poet or composer.

Our own interest in it is centred on the rich cycle of Bakchic subjects, beginning with a series of Dionysian and theatrical symbols in a landscape-frieze from a semi-circular corridor,[1] and four little pictures in a frieze,[2] that render scenes from the life of poets, actors, etc., whom their ivy crowns characterise as *protégés* of the tutelary divinity of the Greek stage.[3] While these have apparently no immediate religious signification, the scene of a great wall-painting,[4] from one of the bedrooms, is evidently supposed to be in the surroundings of a Bakchic sanctuary. It represents the nursing of the infant Dionysos by a Bakchante—characterised by her thyrsos-staff—under the supervision of two priestesses, one of whom holds a fan, while the other also carries the sacred wand. From the same room comes a marvellous archaic picture of Aphroditē,[5] sitting on a throne with a flower in her hand, with Erōs and one of the Graces, a conjunction which reminds us of the Orphic Aphroditē-hymn, where the goddess is praised as the throne-mate of Dionysos. These pictures in that ancient Pagan sleeping chamber were evidently what a *Madonna* and a *Santo Bambino* would be in the bedroom of a mediæval or modern Catholic house.

[1] No. 1464 in Helbig's *Catalogue of Roman Antiquities* (new German edition of 1913) [the numbers of the first edition in brackets], room xix. of the Museum in the Terme Diocleziane.

[2] No. 1479, *ibid.* [1128].

[3] In Ziebarth's *Griechisches Vereinswesen*, the reader will find a large number of inscriptions mentioning a cult association of the famous so-called 'Dionysian artists.'

[4] No. 1477, Helbig [1118]; room xxii. of the Museum.

[5] o. 1479 [1128].

But the most important witness to the unknown proprietor's personal creed is to be found in the incomparably delicate plasterwork of the vaulted ceilings.[1] Of the general aspect of these vaults pl. LXXII. may give a faint idea. The main motives of the framed compositions—three of which are grouped on some such scheme as we see on pl. LXXII., round a *profile*-head either of Dionysos or of Aphroditē with her typical flower—have long been identified as scenes of Bakchic initiation,[2] but never sufficiently explained in all their highly interesting details. We, too, must content ourselves with an analysis of the most transparent and unmistakable scenes.

We see, first, on the left of no. 1327 (Helbig),[3] three women offering a bloodless sacrifice before an altar with an ithyphallic idol of Dionysos; they carry a winnowing-sieve (*liknon*), bowls with first-fruits, wreaths and *thyrsos*-wands. On the right, *a Bacchante is lighting a fire* on an altar[4] by means of two torches. A satyr stands behind her and accompanies the sacred action with the exciting music of his double-flute. On the left side of the altar a drunken Silenus leans, with a *thyrsos* in his left hand; behind him *a deeply veiled woman.*

The landscape in the middle reveals the sacred grove round a Bakchic sanctuary; along the walls of the buildings and on the sinuous and uneven paths of the grove or garden we see the candidates for initiation groping about with outstretched hands and

[1] Helbig, nos. 1327-1332; Lessing-Mau, *l.c.*, pls. xii.-xv.; *Mon. Istit.* Suppl. xxxii.-xxxvi.

[2] Mau, *l.c.*, i. p. 14.

[3] *Mon. Istit. l.c.* pl. xxxiv., Lessing-Mau, pl. xiv.

[4] Cp. Gruppe, Hdb., pp. 1415f. 736 n. 3 and 854 on the fire-lighting as a function of Dionysos.

stumbling steps, blindfolded with a thick veil over their heads. In another similar landscape[1] with a kindred group of buildings in it, we see another such blindfold disciple crossing a stream on a bridge, and about to kneel before a priestess who comes to meet him. Still in another *tableau*,[2] we may observe those who are being initiated in the act of ascending the steps of a steep stairway.

It is clear that the sacred grove here serves as an antitype of the *au-delà*, of the holy meadows and groves of Persephoneia, and the buildings as models of the 'palaces of Hadēs,' while the blindfold disciples are having an object lesson to prepare them for the final pilgrimage to the abode of the blessed in the dark underworld. We have a fragment of Themistios,[3] where he says that "the departing soul suffers the same passion as one of those that pass through the great mysteries . . . . *First wanderings and tiresome windings, gruesome and resultless journeyings through the darkness; then, before the end, all those powerful sensations, shivering and trembling, sweating and horror.* After this, the soul suddenly encounters a marvellous light, and reaches pure realms and meadows, replete with voices and dances and the majesty of sacred sounds and sights. In the midst of these it moves about, now perfect, free and liberated, celebrates the orgies with wreath on head and enters the presence of the holy and pure, gazing down on the uninitiated and impure mob of the living, walking and driven forward in deep mud and fog, and remaining in these

[1] No. 1330, Helbig; Lessing-Mau, *l.c.* pl. xv.; *Mon. Istit.* xxxv.

[2] No. 1331, Helbig; pl. xiii. Lessing-Mau; pl. xxxii. *Mon. Istit.*

[3] *Ap.* Joh. Stob. *Flor.* iv. p. 107 M; Maass, *Orpheus*, p. 303f.; Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie* p. 163.

evils from fear of death and for want of faith in the blessings of that other world."

Similarly Apuleius describes his experiences during the initiation:[1] "I have entered the realm of death and trodden the threshold of Proserpine, have passed through all the elements[2] and yet returned. In the middle of the night I saw the sun shining with bright light."[3] The bridge over the waters of death,[4] the stairway leading to the summit of the happy mountain,[5] etc., are all familiar features of eschatological folk-lore. Indeed, we know quite well—through fragmentary quotations from the Orphic poem the 'Descent to Hades'[6] on the often-quoted gold tablets[7]—some of the instructions about the topography of shadow-land, which are so precious for those who would be 'right wary' in following the way leading to bliss and eternal divine drunkenness (*methē aiōnios*), and in avoiding the other branch of the mystic Y, which leads to filth, darkness and eternal oblivion:

"Thou shalt find to the left of the house of Hades a well-spring and by the side thereof standing a white cypress.
To this well approach not near.

[1] *Metamorph.* xi. 23.

[2] This is obviously the stage of initiation, which Themistios describes as causing awe, fear, horror, etc. See also the letterpress of our pl. li.

[3] This is, of course, the marvellous light in Themistios' description. Cp. on the sun shining in the other world for the initiates, Rohde, *Psyche*, 4th ed., ii. 210 n. 1.

[4] *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.* xiv. 322f.; Gruppe, *Hdb.*, p. 404; Grimm, *Deutsche Märchen* ii. 794; Liebrecht to Gervase of Tilbury, p. 90ff.

[5] *Weltenmantel*, p. 299f.

[6] This is at least the plausible opinion of Dieterich.

[7] English critical text by Jane E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, etc., p. 660ff.

But thou shalt find another (cypress[1]), and from the Lake of Memory
Cold water flowing forth. Guardians will be before it;
Say (unto them): I am a child of Earth and Starry Heaven.
But my race is of Heaven (alone). This ye know yourselves.
Lo, now, am I parched with thirst and I perish,
Quickly, give me the cold water flowing forth from Memory's Lake,
And of themselves will they give thee to drink from the holy well-spring,
And thereafter shalt thou have lordship together with the rest of the heroes."

Another tablet enjoins on the soul always to keep *to the right* as soon as it has left the light of the sun, and hails the pilgrim to the blessed land with a reference to the *unprecedented sufferings*, which he has gone through during his initiation:

" . . . Hail thou who hast suffered the passion thou never hadst suffered before . . .
Thou art become God from man, a kid thou art fallen into milk.[2]
Hail, hail to thee journeying to the right always . . . to the holy meads and groves of Persephoneia."

Then there is a scene[3] where women are seen offering at an altar before a sacred pillar a triptych, the whole probably representing the peculiar Orphic 'image-offering,' mentioned by Empedoclēs.[4]

[1] Cp. the two cypresses right and left from the Hades door on the funeral ash-chest of Ince Blundell Hall, Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 317.

[2] Cp. above, p. 7, note 2 and pl. xlvii.

[3] No. 1328, Helbig 1041D, left side; Lessing-Mau, pl. xiv.; *Mon. Ist.*, pl. xxxiv.

[4] See the author's paper in *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, xiii. 625.

Two other scenes are illustrative of the Phaëtōn myth: in the one we see the youth, accompanied by his aged tutor, approaching the Sun-god Hēlios, who is seated on his throne, and asking to be allowed once only to drive the sun-car; in the second composition the Seasons or the Sun-daughters are preparing the sun-car and harnessing the horses.

I suppose that Phaëtōn is introduced here as the type of the soul that drives the chariot of the sun to heaven,[1] as Parmenidēs describes his mystic journey to the realm of night, and as we find also occasionally pictured the ascension and apotheōsis of Roman emperors.[2] It is well-known that the Egyptian 'Book of the Dead'—an other-world guide-book of similar purpose to the Orphic Hadēs-literature—contains certain magic formulæ, which are supposed to enable the soul to jump on board the barge of the Sun-god, when the latter passes through the underworld on his daily journey, and thus to escape the eternal subterranean darkness. Nothing could be more probable than the existence of a parallel idea in the eschatology of the Dionysian mysteries, at least in Alexandria, where Dionysos the god of the Ptolemies had been intentionally identified with Osiris. To know the words of Phaëtōn, that constrained Hēlios to let him mount the heavenly chariot, to know of this precedent, and to remind the god of it, would enable the initiate to obtain the same favour and 'to have' thereby—as Pindar says—'the sun equal always by night and day.'[3] Besides, we know from the extant fragments

[1] See Dieterich, *Mithrasliturgie*, pp. 197f.; cp. p. 183f.

[2] Cumont, *Myst. de Mithra*, i. 292; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* '*Diptychon*,' 276; Dieterich, *l.c.*, p. 184 n. 1.

[3] *Olymp.* ii. 61f. On Pindar's eschatology having been influenced by the Sicilian Orphics I need not say anything here.

of Orphic literature,[1] that Phaëtōn was identified in the Bakchic mysteries with Dionysos himself in his primæval incarnation as Phanēs Protogonos (cp. above pl. IV.); so that an initiate, who had become another 'Bakchos,' through the initiations, could by right expect the same privilege from Hēlios as the mythic Phaëtōn.

The landscapes on the right and the left from the Phaëtōn scenes contain graceful colonnades, the roofs of which are supported by the statues of one and the same divinity several times repeated—of Zeus-Ammon in the first, Hermēs in the second, and Dēmetēr in the third case. These architectural features are probably symbolic of the palaces of the respective gods, and the presence of the initiates among them[2] seems to signify the future 'life with the gods' of the pure,[3] which awaits the initiate when the chariot of the sun shall have carried him to the blissful realms.

Right and left from the landscape with the tiny little *neo-mystēs* crossing the bridge, there are two scenes,[4] which are evidently illustrative of the blessed life of 'perpetual divine drunkenness,' which is led by the followers of Dionysos, and of the ceremonies, by which a man may become a *thyrsos*-bearer and member of the '*thiasos*.'

On the right side a Silenus stands in the middle and looks down at a Bacchante, who stoops before him and is petting a tame panther. Behind the Silenus a drunken satyr is seen reclining on his back on the

[1] Abel, *Fragm. Orph.* 152$_{10}$, cf. 57.

[2] A cattle-herd (cp. above p. 57 and pls. xxviii. and xlvii. on the *boes* of Dionysos) is seen grazing in the midst of the colonnades of Zeus.

[3] See Rohde, *Psyche*, 4th ed., ii. 279, n. 1, on the Platonic passages, where this dogma will be found.

[4] No. 1330 [1071], Helbig.

ground, and being caressed by another Bacchante. The left hand scene is badly damaged, but it was certainly a scene of Bacchic initiation, for the remains of a priestess carrying the *sacred winnowing sieve* are still to be distinguished.

Finally, in another composition (reproduced on our plate LXXII.) we see round a most beautiful bearded Dionysos bust on the left, another scene of initiation, this time quite complete: the candidate, who is represented in smaller (childlike) proportions than the other figures, evidently because of the fiction that through the initiation he is newly born into another life, and whose face is veiled with a cloak drawn over his head, is led by a priestess towards the Silenus, who holds—again under the covering of a veil—the *mystic winnowing sieve*. Under the veil we have to suppose the objects the uncovering of which formed a central feature of all the mystery-ceremonies,[1] among them the sacred *phallos* of the god, the symbol of the new 'generation from above.' Behind the priestess, who guides the neophyte, on a low base stands a '*cysta mystica*'; a Bacchante steps forward with a *tympanon* in her lowered left hand. On the opposite side, the scene is terminated by a high, square pillar, beside which a holy tree is visible. Lying beneath the pillar is a goat's head—either a remnant from a preceding goat-sacrifice or an animal mask, to be used by the future 'kid' or 'goat' or 'satyr.'

In the centre of the picture, on the right, a young satyr is sitting on a goat-skin spread over a rock. With raised right hand he bends down a tendril of a high-growing vine for the little naked initiate, who

[1] These things are called *deigmata* (=things shown) in the mystery-language, and distinguished from *drōmena* (=things acted) in the mystery-language.

stands there a little awkwardly, enjoying his newly acquired dignity of 'thyrsos-bearer.' He is seen now to hold the sacred wand which gives him the right to partake of the new grapes from the '*mystic vine.*' Behind him stands a Bacchante with a cup in her right hand; a second satyr is pouring wine into a mixing-vessel from a skin bag.

The landscape in the middle (see our detailed pl. LXXIII.) shows again the buildings, which make up the *Bakcheion* in the sacred grove; to the left a little turret with a small open court before it. In front, between two vases, which are placed on top of the walls round the little fore-court, stands an ithyphallic image. At the entrance of the opposite building a female figure is seen leaning against a parapet, fascinated by the sight of the image and lost in deep meditation. In the centre of the foreground two women are performing some mystic action over a sacred rock or rough rock-altar.[1] But the most interesting features of this landscape are the following details on the right side: The building in the centre is connected with a small temple and turret on the right by means of a bridge. This proves that *between the two buildings a stream* is supposed to flow down to the foreground, round a cliff, which is situated opposite the rock with the two officiating women, and on which we see *two fishermen*, the one balancing very gracefully on the outmost projection of the 'jutting rock' in the typical position given to the angler by Greek art of every age, and casting his line, by means of a flexible rod, into the

[1] For this detail, which is not sufficiently clear in the photograph, Prof. Emanuele Loewy, Professor of Archeology at the Sapienza in Rome, has been kind enough to examine the original and ascertain that there is nothing placed on the bare rock and that the officiating priestess has nothing in her hands. No flame is visible above the rock, although strokes, which are meant to suggest grass growing in the background, might lead the uncautioned observer into this error.

afore-mentioned stream. The other fisherman is standing and occupied with baiting his line. There can be no reasonable doubt that—like all the rest of the figures in these little plaster-*relievos*—the fishermen also have to play their part in the Bakchic initiation rites, however often such fishermen may appear together with shepherds, hunters and the like as mere *staffage*-figures in other Hellenistic landscapes. Without wishing to assert that this is the only possible interpretation, I should like to direct the readers' attention to the tiny figure of a candidate for initiation who is just crossing the bridge over the river, on the way from the smaller building on the right to a square landing-platform with two corner-pillars for fastening boats on the opposite side of the river; this *neomystēs* meets, on that very narrow bridge without a railing, another larger figure—obviously a priestess as in the parallel instance described above p. 293. If we remember that so many of the folk-lore traditions about the bridge of souls emphasise the danger of falling down from this giddy and narrow passage way; if we consider, moreover, that it really must be very difficult for a blindfold person to cross such a narrow bridge guided only by the voice of the priestess, who may be thought to call him nearer and nearer; if we remember, moreover, Themistios' allusions to a sudden frightening of the initiate on his way through the darkness (above p. 288), the Orphic allusion to a quite unprecedented painful experience and the accident of the initiate's 'falling into the milk,'—I do not think it a too risky interpretation to suppose that the initiate is being intentionally misled here by the voice of the priestess—as it were the soul being led astray by temptations—until *he really tumbles down from the bridge into the*

water beneath, from which he is then fished out again after this symbolic and purificatory drowning by the fishermen occupied with their work a little down the river.[1]

If this explanation be admitted, we should have another testimony—beside the mosaic from the mystery-hall of Melos (see above p. 272)—that the neophyte had to be 'fished' from the water, that is, mystically conceived anew (above pp. 263ff.), before he could be admitted to the grape- and new-wine sacrament represented in both cases in the panel next to the fishing-scene. This ceremony would then represent the purification of the soul by water, the scene around the altar, on which a fire is lit by means of burning torches, by the veiled woman in the background, the purification by fire, and the several times recurring winnowing-sieve, the wind-baptism or 'ventilation' of the initiate (cp. p. 203). Unhappily, we cannot say how the fire and wind-ceremonies were performed in detail; but it is easy to imagine how the blindfold initiate, groping about in the darkness, would be frightened and impressed, when he was suddenly fanned with mighty winnowing-shovels, or when sulphur torches were swung round him, without his knowing where the wind and the fire came from. Most certainly there was, however, an exchange of questions and answers between the hierophant and the neophyte, which gradually enlightened the candidate about the subsequent trials through which he had to pass, until finally the veil was removed from his eyes and the light dawned upon him that shineth for ever in the darkness.

[1] Cp. above on pl. xlix. (to p. 161), Jonah saved by fishermen. The analogy is especially valuable, because there too the rescuing fishermen are represented as angling, while in all the other numerous myths about the ritually drowned person being saved by fishermen nets are used for the purpose.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 4, n. 2. Cp. about the Æginean—and later on—Roman Orphic mysteries of Hekate, the evidence of the inscriptions, etc., collected by G. Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 316, ns. 10-13. I believe now that the so-called '*Chaldean oracles*' are characterised as the bible of these mysteries by the predominance given to the cosmically interpreted Hekate in their theology (Kroll, *De Orac. Chald.*, pp. 27ff., 49, 69; Ziegler, *Arch. Rel. Wiss.*, XIII., 1910, 266ff.).

Page 13. The list of hundreds of new divine names from the eight languages of Boghasköj discovered by my Swiss friend Dr. E. Forrer, *does not contain anything like* "*Orpheus*," although a goddess "Ri-a"—evidently the 'Rheia' of the Greek—occurs frequently. Accordingly we may adhere with great confidence to the proposed Greek etymology. For the sake of completeness I mention the new etymology by O. Kern, *Orpheus*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 16ff., who derives O. from *orph(an)os* and explains it as 'the hermit,' or 'solitarian.' He has however noticed on p. 8, n. 3, that there must be a connection of 'Orpheus' and the '*orphoi*' fish.

Page 14. Cp. about the *orphos*-fish G. Schmidt, *Philologus*, Suppl. XI., p. 287f. It is identified with the wreck-fish, *polyprion cernuum*—a six-foot long giant perch, weighing more than a hundred pounds, highly estimated on account of its delicious flesh. According to Couch it is sometimes caught at the coast of Cornwall. According to this author it is sometimes seen reclining for a time on the wooden wreck of a ship, stranded in more southern seas, until carried off again by a higher wave, a description which will remind the reader of the story about the dolphin jumping into the Cretan ship and guiding it to Apollon's later sanctuary at Delphi. The fishermen of Morea call the *serranus gigas* (French *serran le méron*), *orphos*. In modern Crete the name is applied to the *labrus maculatus* (spotted lip-fish) also called '*pietropsaro*,' St. Peter's fish (cp. below, p. 35, n. 4), and pronounced *rophos*. This is important in so far as it shows that the word *orphos*—previous unsatisfactory etymologies in Boisacq's *Dict. étym. de la Langue Grècque*, Paris, 1916, *s.v.*, p. 720—is to be derived from *roph-ein* 'to swallow' (**srobh*) Lat. sorbeo (*srbh), Lithuanian surbiù 'to suck,' Armen. arbi 'I drank,' 'arb' 'drunken revellery,' etc. (see Boisacq, *l.c.*, p. 844, about this stem), and applies to the voracity of the kind, which is expressly mentioned by the authors

that describe the Lycian ichthyomantic oracle. Accordingly the word is neither 'Hittite,' nor Semitic, but true Greek and cannot have been an old word for 'fish' in general. "Orpheuō" means therefore not 'to fish' in general, but 'to handle' or catch the *orphoi* (cp. Engl. 'whaling,' 'whalery'), videl. 'to prophesy by means of the *orphoi* or '"voracious" fish.' *Orpheus* or *Orphites* (Lycian inscription of 149 A.D., Petersen-Luschan, II., p. 124, no. 161), other instances in Pape-Benseler, 2nd ed., 1079, or *Orphōndas* (Fick-Bechtel, p. 431) is the '*orphos*-guard' or '*orphos*-priest' (cp. Engl. 'whaler,' French 'balénier').

Page 18. Orpheus the herdsman is represented with his shepherd's rod on a sculptured slab of the Mantua Museum, Labus, Museo di Mantova I., p. 12 ('*Orfeo* . . . *con pedo pastorale*').

Page 22, n. 4. Ælian's tale about the Adonis-fish may be compared with the above-quoted habit of the wreck-fish. So it might be true to life after all.

Page 25, last line but one of the text. The 'lagobolion' is not a 'net for catching hares' but a crooked throw-stick for killing them, a kind of boomerang.

Page 26, n. 1. The case of the same word for 'fox' in the Thracian (Schol. Lykophr., 771, 1343), Lybian, Coptic, Afar and Saho languages is no more unparallelled or enigmatic. Similarly Sappho's word 'herpis' ('the trailing one') for 'vine' occurs as *irp* in Egyptian (Copt. HPII), cp. the author's new book *Kenit. Weih inschr.*, Freib., 1919, p. 76o). The reader will remember that the Ægean people appear as allies of the Lybians in the wars of Sahure' and Merneptah. My friend Dr. Forrer tells me, that the well-known Egyptian verb SDM 'to hear,' the very paradigm of Egyptian grammars, occurs in the form *išdum*-ašuwar 'to hear' in the new 'Luvian' language of Asia Minor and Prehellenic Greece, which he has extracted from the Boghasköj tablets. If we remember that the Libyans (Egypt. *Rb.w.*, the *w*-plural corresponding to the y in Lib-y-a) are called *Lub-im* in the Old Testament and that *bi* may be an Asianic plural suffix, even as in *Kas-pi-oi* for the 'Kassi' of Cuneiform Texts, in Torre-bi-oi (from Turra), Perrhae-bi-oi from * Perrha, etc., Lulu-bi from Lulu-ta, etc., that the North African coasts have always been inhabited by racial kinsmen of the opposed Mediterranean coasts and islands, there is nothing strange in this linguistic coincidence. There is nothing improbable in the hypothesis of a prehistoric Luvian and Chalybian (Ḥ' nb.w) colonisation of North Africa if we think of the later Greek colonies of Kyrene and Naukratis and of the 'Carian fort' (Karikon teichos) at Mogador.

Page 35. The name 'the silent ones' for the 'fishes' corresponds perfectly to the common new Greek word '*alogo*,' the 'speechless' one, for the 'horse.' The Pythagorean order is called '*coetus silentum*,' the 'confraternity of the silent ones' (Lucan, 6, 513; Ovid. met. 15, 66; etc.). The '*ellops*' is the caviar-sturgeon (G. Schmidt, *Philol. Suppl.* XI., 281). Zeus *must* have it to eat it together with Hera, Epicharm, *Athen.* VII., 287.

According to Sammonius Serenus (Macrob. III., 16, 15; *Athen.* VII., 43, p. 294 E), a certain amount of sensation was caused in Rome, when under Septimius Severus at a sacrificial meal an *ellops* was served wreathed and to the sound of flute-playing as it were with divine honours. Maybe the Syrian Empress Julia Domna had reintroduced this old ichthyolatric rite. Its delicious flesh—compared by the parodistic poet Matron (4th cent. B.C.) to '*ambrosia*'—became a fashionable dish for some time in my land too, when the fish had been served under its Hungarian name of 'fogosh,' applied to those caviar-sturgeons that are caught in the Danube, to King Edward in the imperial castle of Vienna.

Page 35, n. 3. Dr. F. M. Cornford reminds me that the first literary mention of the name Orpheus itself occurring in Ibykos of Rhegion ('onomaklytos Orphēn') fr. 10 Bergk shows this Cretan termination in -ēn.

Page 36. As 'to wash one's feet' is a metaphoric expression for 'to marry' (see the author's paper on John 13ff. in *Zeitschrift für neutest.*, Wiss., 1913, p. 268) '*aniptopodes*' is probably equivalent to 'celibataries.' A Lydian inscription (Tralles, *Bull. corr. hell* VII. 276) is dedicated by one 'Lucia Aurelia Emilia descended from an ancestry of temple-prostitutes and *aniptopodes* (=celibataries), herself prostituted according to an oracle.' The ritual of sleeping on the naked soil and the prohibition against the washing of one's feet occurs also in India. See Oldenberg, *Relig. d. Veda*, pp. 417 and 424.

Page 37. First line read 'supposed' for 'admitted.' In the sixth line read '*parallelism of the words*' for 'transition from.' Wilamowitz v. Mœllendorf (*Einleit, i.d., att. Tragœdie*, Berlin, 1889, p. 258): "*psellizo, sellizo, ellos, ellops* offer a phonetically unimpeachable etymology for Hellenes, Hellopes," has not meant, of course, to derive these words from one another. *Psellizo* means literally to lisp, *sellizo* and Latin *silere* refer to the speech defect, which the French call '*zezayer*' (cp. *siboleth*—pronunciation of Benjamin), *hellos* and *ellos* (**hellizein* and **ellizein*)—the syllable *ell-* in all these onomatic words corresponding to the German sound-picture word '*lallen*' for 'stammer'—is the cockney defect of adding or dropping aitches (called '*dasynein*' or '*psiloun*' by Greek grammarians), *ellops* is composed of *ell-* and the Homeric word *ops, opos, 'voice.' I believe now, that *Hellenes, Hellopes*='the silent' or 'muttering ones' is only *a popular Greek etymology* of the name, even as the explanation of 'Hellas'='town' Etym. Magn. 331, 34 from *hella*=Lat. *sella* 'seat' (cp. German "Wohn*sitz*") which would give the sense the 'sedentary ones' for 'Hellenes' in contrast with nomadic invaders. As the French language is not the German language of the Franks but the Romanic one of the Latinised Gauls, as 'Bavarian' is not the language of the Celtic Boii, Greek is probably not the language of the Hellēnes or Hellopes—who may have been the former inhabitants of the peninsula, mentioned as Ḥ'n b w in Egyptian documents thousands of years before the Dorian invasion and

whom I believe to be identical with the 'Chalybes' of the Pontic regions in the north of Asia Minor (see my book on Kenite inscriptions, p. 74f.), even as the Illyrian Kassiopes are probably identical with the Kaspians or Kossaeans of Asia.

Page 53, line 2f.: read 'for mutual love was glowing.'

Page 68. The king suckled by a goddess is frequently represented on Egyptian monuments (Naville, *Deir el bahari* IV., pl. 104f. The XIth dyn. temple at D. el Bahari I., pls. 28, 30.) Even so, on the so-called "stèle des vautours" it is said of Eannatu of Lagaš, "Ninharsag de sa mamelle sacrée l'allaita (Heuzey-Thureau-Dangin, p. 44). The church mystically suckling her children may be seen on a sarcophagus from Salona, Wulff., *Altchristl. Kunst*, p. 172, fig. 167, cp. p. 80, fig. 63.

Page 74. Dr. F. J. Dölger is now Professor for Comparative Religion in Münster.

Page 88. Lines 14 and 16 read *mal 'akhim.*

Page 94. Line 10 end, after 'wealthy' add 'pious Jew or,' since Scheftelowitz has shown that the 'fish' was a well-known symbol for the pious Jew before it became a symbolon of the Jewish Messianists or Christians.

To page 95, n. 2. Cp. Epictet in *Arrian. diss.* II. 9, ed. Upton, London, 1741, I. 214f., who says that many Greeks were called because of their Jewish, Syrian or Egyptian way of (religious) living Jews, Syrians or Egyptians.

To page 114, n. 3. Augustin, *sermo* 37_6, says, that wool is 'carnale aliquid' ('something fleshly'), while linen is 'spiritale' ('spiritual'). This is purest Orphic or Pythagorean vegetarianism.

Page 115. As to the number-symbolism of letters, I see from *The Quest*, 1920, XI., p. 552, that Th. Simcox Lea and Fred. Bligh Bond have published a book (*Materials for the Study of the Apostolic Gnosis*, Oxford, 1919) on the subject, which I could not obtain in any German library.

To page 122. Tenne, *Volkssagen aus Pommern*, p. 351, cp. Mélusine II., p. 233f.: a fisherman must never tell the number of fish he has caught; if asked, he must understate it. This custom is evidently presupposed by the Pythagorean anecdote.

To page 190, n. 2 cp., add. to page 190, about the deluge being heralded by angels felling the trees in the garden of this world. See besides my paper *Süddentsche Monatshefte*, VI., 647, where I have tried to show that the 'axe' of God and his 'winnowing shovel' may be astrally interpreted. Etymol. Gudianum 581, shows that the stars of Orion * ⁝ * were interpreted as a pick-axe ('*skeparnon*') and Schiaparrelli, *Astron. im AT*, p. 62ff., explains the constellation *mizrê*, Job 37_9 as 'the winnowing shovels.' John may well have accompanied his threatening sermon with the gesture of pointing towards the sky, which is so often attributed to the Baptist in later Christian art.

To page 148, cp. Odes of Solomon about the water of the

temple-fountain gushing forth and spreading over the whole 'face of the earth.'

Page 157. Correct "to the Greek translator of the Aramaic original of the Logia." The Aramaic can be rendered both ways indifferently.

157$_4$. Correct "above p. 15, n. 4," for "p. 36, n. 1."

Page 159, n. 2. I owe the knowledge of this important parallel to Dr. Rendell Harris, but could not insert any thanks to the distinguished scholar in the proofs.

To page 160 'Bnē Regeš' cp. Rendell Harris' excellent book *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913.

To page 182, cp. Flemish and Pomeranian fables about 'the fish during the deluge' (*Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, XVI., 1906, p. 391f., §11) "you could not destroy us" they say triumphantly to the Lord when he overlooks the results of the cosmic catastrophe.

To page 183, n. 1. See *Revue archeol.* IV., series XXII., 1913, p. 417, new fragment of a Manichean gospel (Bordham and Conybeare, *Hibb. Journ.*, July 1913, 805-818: flesh born in the water, flesh of fish is created without corruption, therefore the followers of Christ are not to eat any flesh but that of fishes.

To page 190. See the 'midras Semḫazai and Azazel,' Wünsche, *Isr. Lehrhallen*, Leipz., 1907, vol. I., p. 8; Bin Gorion I., 317: the deluge is heralded by the following dream-vision of one of the worst sinners—he sees a great park planted with all kinds of trees and in it *angels, armed with axes, cutting down the trees*, except one with three branches (Noe and his three sons)!

To page 198, cp. the tradition in *Voyage de Siam des Pères Jesuites*, 296, Hartland *Perseus*, p. 114: after a gradual degeneration of the human race the sea will be dried up and the earth destroyed *by fire*. Converted into dust and ashes, it will be *purified by a wind*, which will carry off all remains of conflagration. So sweet an odour will then 'exhale from the purified soil, that it will draw from heaven a female angel, who will eat of this sweet smelling substance, become pregnant and bring forth twelve sons and daughters to regenerate the world.' This is a most interesting parallel to the Orphic legend about the origin of men from the ashes of the burnt Titans, destroyed by the lightning fire of Zeus.

To page 200. The Babylonian original of the Syrian wind-flood legend has at last turned up in the Nippur-text discussed by Langdon, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Archeol.*, 1914, 189: once on a time the spirit, the wrathful word, the deluge gathered all, the raging *storm* uttered its roar of terror, the devastating spirit with its seven *winds* caused the heavens to moan. The violent *storm* caused the earth to quake, the *storm*-god in the vast heavens shrieked and there were little and great hailstones. The surviving god-king is Tag-Tug, a gardener (cp. Noe, cultivating the vine!) and Prof. Sayce has called attention to the fact that the Sumerian ideogram Tug may be read *nahu* 'to rest,' 'to comfort'

in Semitic. This is the Babylonian tradition: Noe was the hero of the wind-flood story, Hasisatra the survivor of the watery cataclysm.

To page 225. See Aboth. 3, 3, where the learned table-conversation about scriptural questions is called 'eating of the table of the Lord.' Cp. with this the early Christian dispnosophistic treatise 'Coena Cipriani.'

To page 230, cp. Sibyll. III., 86, the eating of the heavenly bread in the *green garden* of Paradise. Also Apocalypse of Peter, Hennecke *New Test. Apocr.*, p. 216.

To page 231, Sohar III., 271, vol. VI., p. 39, two loaves of bread symbolising the two tables of the Lord.

To page 234, cp. Wünsche, *Israels Lehrhallen*, II., 72, the Jews asking three signs as his credentials from a Pseudo-Messiah; among them, that he should produce the Manna of old.

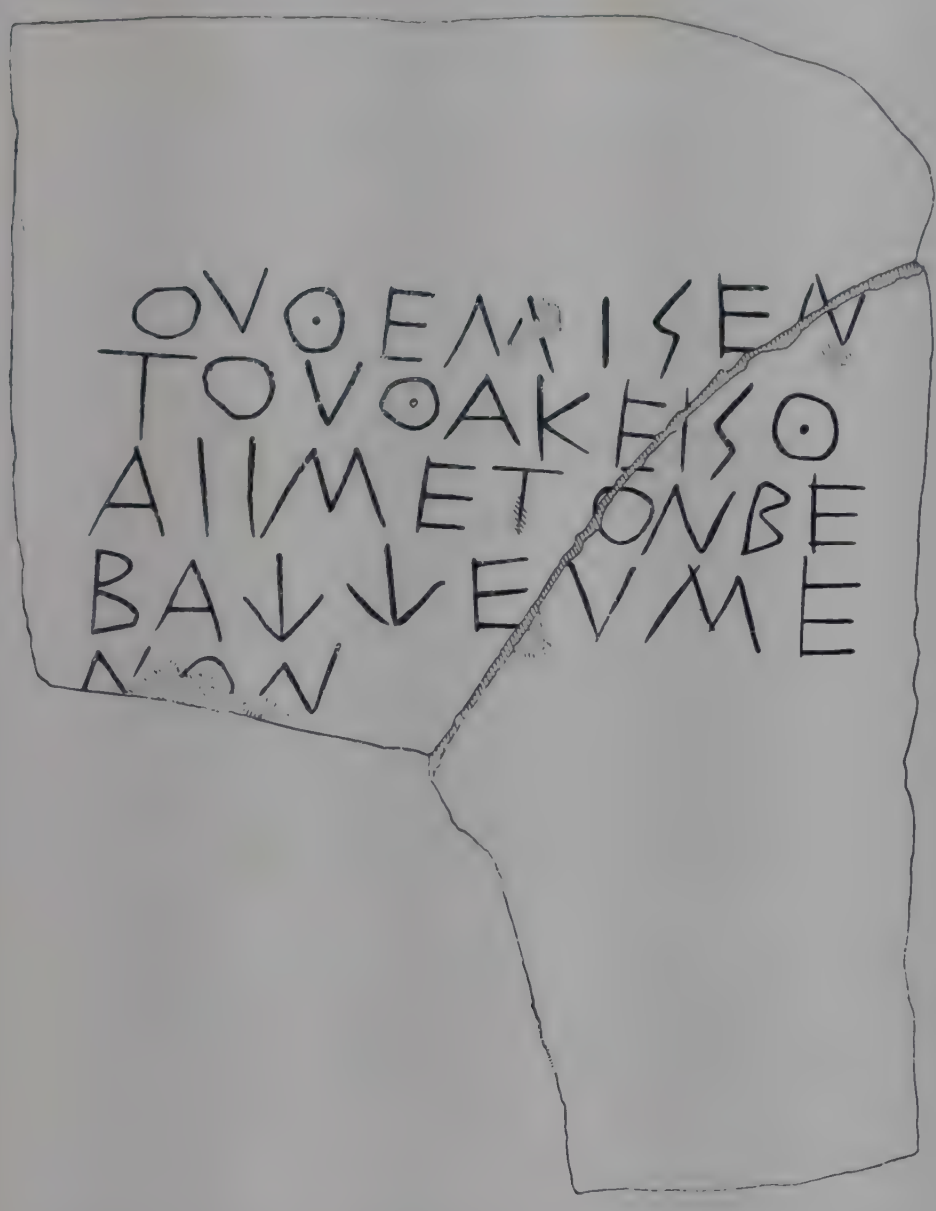
To page 242. The honeycomb as an immortalising food from heaven occurs in the midrash of Aseneth, see Schürer, *Gesch. d. Volkes Israel*, III., p. 400, n. 26.

To page 243. The Glaukos fable in Apollod. III., 1, 2. Tertullian, *Ad Nationes*, II., 9, God pervades matter as honey fills the wax combs.

PLATES.

Plate I., to face p. 1.

INSCRIPTION FROM THE GRAVEYARD OF THE INITIATED DIONYSOS WORSHIPPERS IN CUMA.



Transcription: *Ou themis entoutha keisthai i me ton bebachcheumenon ;* see translation on p. 1, n. 1. On the other side see Tertullian, de idolatria c. h. 14: '*licet convivere cum ethnicis, commori non licet.*' 'We may live together but not die together with the Gentiles.' Cp. moreover the notice in Iamblichos' *Life of Pythagoras*, 154, that this prophet and saint of the Orphic community forbade the burning of corpses with the well-known Christian opposition to the funeral pyre of pagan antiquity.

Plate I., to face p. 1.

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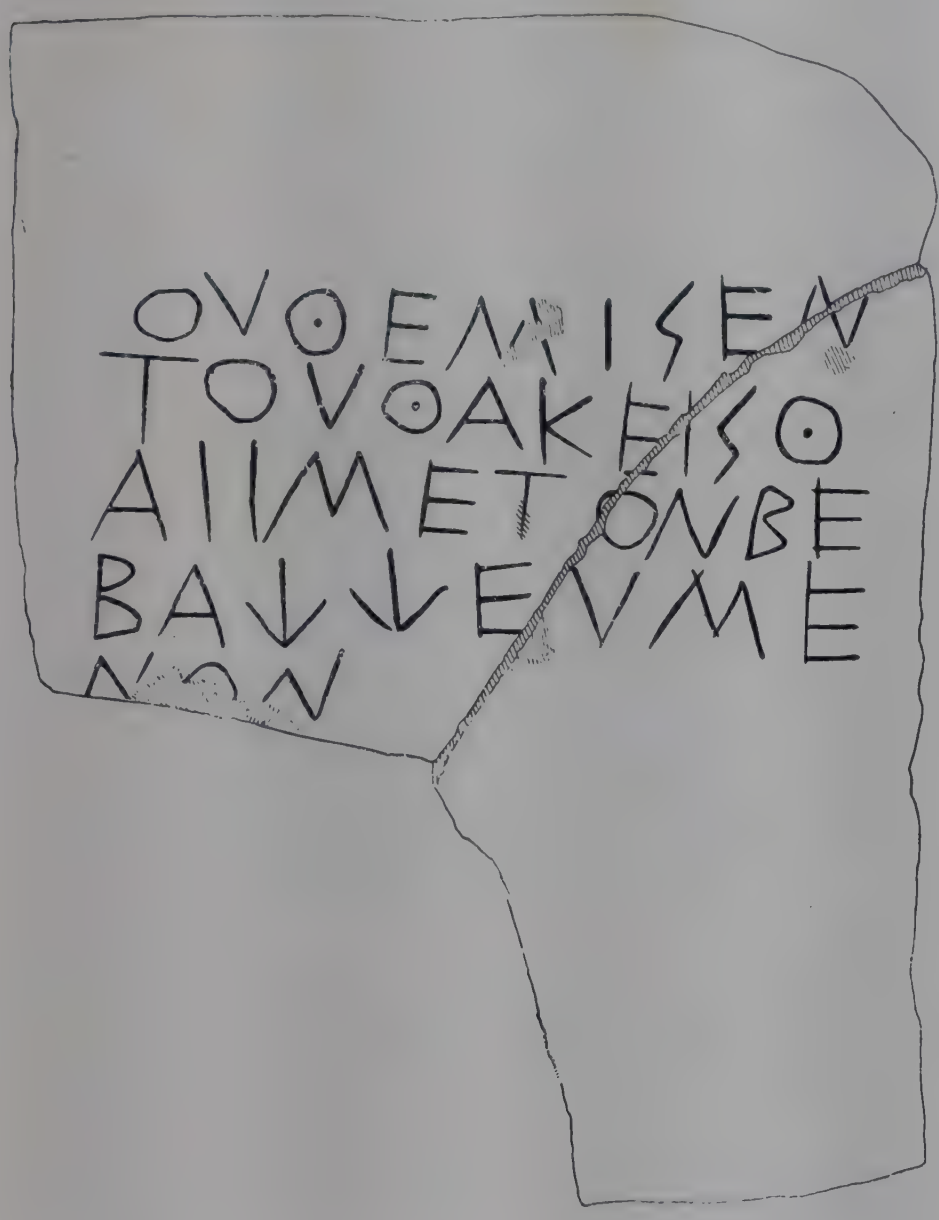

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Plate II., to face p. 3, n. 2.

BABYLONIAN ORPHEUS-NEBO.

Hellenistic sculpture excavated by Hilprecht in the temple of Bel at Nippur and published under the title of "Lutanist surrounded by animals." Hilprecht, *die Ausgrabungen im Bel Tempel von Nippur*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 60; Univ of Pennsylv. Babyl. Exped. Series D. vol. i., p. 529; *Transact.* Dep. of Archeol. Univ. Pennsylv., vol. i., p. ii, 1904, p. 113. The Hilprecht controversy, p. 103. With this monument compare pl. iii.

Plate III., to face p. 3, n. 2.

WILD ANIMALS TAMED AND LED IN PROCESSION BY A BAND OF SEVEN LUTANISTS AND A FEMALE CYMBAL-PLAYER.

Sculpture on Babylonian boundary stone from Susa of the 16th century B.C. (phototypic reproduction of the whole monument in Jeremias, *Alt. Test. u. Alt. Or.* 3rd ed. fig. 200, after P. Scheil, in De Morgan, *Mém. Deleg. en Perse*, vol. vii., p. 149, pl. xx. The animals are a lioness, an antelope, a wild ram, mountain bull, a lion, a leopard and an ostrich. Cp. 'Lucian,' *de dea Syria* 24, about the tame bulls, horses, eagles, bears and lions in the fore-court of the temple of Bambyke-Mabug, where Melito places his Babylonian Orpheus-Nebo (p. 3, n. 2). The cymbal-playing female may be meant for the 'Great Goddess' the '*potnia thēron*,' 'Our Lady of wild animals,' since Lucian says that her Bambycene statue carried a 'cymbal' in the right hand; the Bambycene 'Nebo' of Melito is mentioned by Lucian, who saw his statue in the temple of Mabug, under his Greek name 'Hermes.' According to Aelian, *de nat. an.* xii. 23, tame lions were also kept in the temple of Anaeitis in Elam. Tame lions—and probably also other animals—were led about by the priests of Cybele (Varro Fr. 364 *Bü.*; *O. Jahn, Abh. Bayr. A. W.* viii., 1858, 261ff.). Cp. Justin VII., 14, who mentions Orpheus as the initiator of the Phrygian mysteries, that is to say as archpriest of Cybele, and Strabo VI., p. 330, where he figures as one of the begging priests (*agyrtai*) of the 'Great Mother.' The scene is strongly reminiscent of a band of modern Gypsy bear- and monkey-leaders, lutanists, cymbal-players and fortune tellers.

Plate IV., to face p. 6.

ORPHIC CULT-IMAGE REPRESENTING THE BIRTH OF THE GOD PHANES-DIONYSOS, FROM THE WORLD-EGG.

Probably found in Rome, at present in the Royal Museum of Modena.
(Reproduced from *Revue archéol.*, 1902, 1, lx., pl. i.)

For a full explanation of all the details of the composition from Orphic texts, see the author's book *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, Munich, 1910, vol. ii., p. 400-406. The inscriptions on the marble lead to the conclusion that it was first used as an Orphic cult-image in a Dionysos sanctuary, among the 'founders' of which were a certain Euphrosyne and her husband Felix. The inscription mentioning the man *together with his wife* was cancelled when Felix in his dignity of '*pater sacrorum*' ('father of the mysteries') of a Mithraic church had the same sculpture set up at his own expense in a Mithraic sanctuary, from which we know women were excluded on principle. For the Mithriasts the image represented the birth of Mithras from the heavenly egg (*Weltenmantel*, pp. 410ff.), a fact which illustrates in a striking way the close affinity of the Orphic and the Mithraic or Zrvanistic theogonies. The case is exactly analogous to the use of the Orpheus type as an image of the Christ in the Christian catacombs (above p. 51).

Plate V., to face p. 15.

THE DIVINE HUNTER ON A TOMBSTONE OF THRACIAN DIONYSOS-WORSHIPPERS.

Stele of Podgori, now in the Louvre-Museum. Cp. Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, Paris, 1876, p. 153, and Perdrizet, *Bull. Corr. hell.*, 1900, p. 305, pl. xiii.=*Cultes et mythes du Pangée*, Paris-Nancy, pp. 21 f. and pl. i. (this and the following block having been kindly lent by the latter distinguished scholar). The inscription on the stone says that the deceased leaves a legacy 'to the Initiates of Dionysos' on condition that they will annually offer for him a sacrifice on the day of the rose-feast. The hunting god of this monument is not called by any individual name, but simply '*theos hēron*' 'heroe-god' or 'god-man' (deified human being). The son of Zeus and Semele may well have been thus called. Cp. the dedication "Heroi" of a bas-rilievo, representing a heroe with his hunting-spear, petting a tame hind, by one Pythodoros son of Protagoras found in Lechonia (Volo) on the peninsula of Magnesia, published by O. Kern, *Hermes*, xxxvii., 1902, p. 629, fig. 7.

Plate VI., to face p. 15.

THE HUNTING GOD OF THE WILD VINE OF THE WOODS, SPEARING A BOAR

Round the god the Sileni or wine-demons ('*zeila*' is Thracian for 'wine') harvesting grapes.

Stele of Melnik, now in the Brussels Museum. Cp. Perdrizet, *Revue archéolog.*, 1904, i., 20, pl. i., and *Cultes et mythes du Pangée*, p. 21, pl. ii., who has acutely observed that the god—called with the Barbaric name *Asdoules* in the dedication on this stone (cp. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéol. Orient.*, vi., 214)—is none else but Dionysos *Zagreus*, this latter name being explained as the 'great hunter' by Euripides, in an etymological allusion, *Bacch.* 1189ff., in the *Etymol. Magn.*, p. 406, 49, Gaisford; *Etym. Gud.*, p. 227, 40; Cramer, *Anecd. Oxon.*, ii., 443, 8. In view of these monuments, Prof. Farnell's scepticism against the correctness of this ancient explanation of the name *Zagreus* seems exaggerated.

Plate VII., to face p. 16.

ORPHEUS (?) AMONG THE ANIMALS BLOWING THE DECOY HORN.

Previously unpublished. Small marble relief (h. 0·27, l. 0·34).
No. 16 in the conservatory-wall of Knole Castle, near Sevenoaks, Kent.

Reproduced by kind permission of the owner, Lord Sackville, from a photograph by H. Essenhigh-Corke.

According to Bady's Guide to Knole (1839), these and other antiques of Knole were brought there from the continent by the 3rd Duke of Dorset (1745-1799). The late Prof. Michaelis of Strassburg gives the following description in his *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 422: "In the middle, in rocky scenery, sits a man of almost child-like stature in a short *chitōn* and with a Phrygian cap, playing on a curved flute. He would be taken for a herdsman if the scenery did not rather suggest an Orpheus; for around him are placed a boar listening attentively, a goat, a ram, *a lion or panther* mangling a horse and *so evidently not fully tamed by the art of the musician*, and a bear. On the left are the remains of a tree." Indeed it is hardly possible to think here of a simple herdsman, as it were, calling for help on his curved horn, because wild beasts have attacked his herd. First of all a herd composed of a boar, a goat, a ram and a horse would certainly be very uncommon; secondly the listening attitude of at least the boar and the goat, and above all the peaceful behaviour of the shepherd, would remain unexplained. Moreover, a purely decorative, bucolic *genre*-scene would not be in the line of the sculptor of this apparently barbaric, certainly not Greek, marble. It is far more plausible that he wanted to depict a group of the most different *tame and wild* animals gathered round a heroic or divine (?) Phrygian herdsman, who has lured them magically by the sound of his primitive wind instrument, even as Aelian, xii. 46, describes the stag and boar hunting method of the 'Tyrrhenian' flute-player. The group of the panther and the horse show clearly—and this makes the monument so important for our purpose—that the music is *not supposed* here to *tame* the wild animals, as in the evidently secondary development of the Orpheus legend, but only *to lure them to the piper*. When pp. 16f. of this book first appeared in *The Quest* Mrs. Ada Thomson kindly referred me to pp. 133ff. of W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London (Macmillan), 1900, where the author describes the Malay method of luring wild pigeons by the call of the *buluh dikat*, or 'bamboo pigeon call,' a primitive wind-instrument, which the hunter plays after hiding himself in a specially-built leaf hut, and after murmuring certain incantations (quoted in full, *o.c.* pp. 35ff.), Mr. Skeat adds the remarkable sentence: "*the call* (of the decoy-trumpet) *will occasionally for some unexplained reason attract to the spot wild animals, especially mouse deer and tigers. Is it not possible, that the story of the lute of Orpheus may have had its origin in some old hunting custom of the kind?*" The reader will also remember the German *Volksbuch* of the Rat-Piper of Hameln and the *Rattenmamsell* alluring mice and rats with her Jew's harp in Ibsen's *Klein-Eyolf*. The belief in the influence of music on animals may be further illustrated by Aelian's stories of the Libyans taming horses and elephants with the playing of flutes, of the music-loving dolphins, of the *hymenaios* song recited to help the stallion in covering the mares (*Nat. An.* xii. 44f.), and of the bird of prey *agreus* (=the hunter) that decoys the young ones of other birds by his sweet song. *Ibid.* xii. 43, *the use of cymbals by the net-fishers* is described in detail.

As to the little fellow with the decoy trumpet on the Knole marble, I am not positive as to Orpheus being meant. The childish figure could be interpreted as the infant Dionysos Zagreus (=the great hunter), playing a shepherd's horn, which might be called a 'bull-roarer,' even as the whirligig *rhombos*, his toy, according to Abel, *Fragm. Orph.*, 196. If there existed an Orphic legend about all the animals gathering round the infant god Dionysos, this would explain at least why the helpless little victim of the Titans would be called the 'mighty hunter.' But the marble may also be a votive-offering of a successful decoy-horn blowing hunter to some local barbaric hunter-god, since nothing is known about the place where this coarse sculpture was found. If it is of Thracian origin, one might think of the hunter-god or hero Rhesos (Thrac. = 'king')—probably identical with the Thracian Zagreus (our plates v. and vi.) of whom the Lemnian author Philostratus (*Heroic*, p. 680) says that *when he hunts, wild boars, deer and other wild animals come of their own free will to his altar to be sacrificed there* (cp. Perdrizet *Cultes et mythes du Pangée*, pp. 20f.). Quite lately Miss Jane E. Harrison has reminded me of Euripides, *Alkestis* 579ff., where *Apollon 'eulyros,'* the 'good lyre player' is described as shepherding by the sound of his lyre the ragged lynxes and the lions from the woods of Othrys as well as the spotted fallow fawns of the place.

Plate VIII., to face p. 17, cp. 80ff.

THE 'FISHER OF MEN' ON AN EARLY BABYLONIAN MONUMENT: PATESI EANNATU OF LAGASH, WHO HAS CAUGHT IN HIS NET THE INHABITANTS OF OUMMA (GIŠ-HU).

(Reproduced from plate ii. in Léon Heuzey and F. Thureau-Dangin's *La Restitution matérielle de la Stèle des Vautours*, Paris, 1909.)

In the inscription of the monument (*o.c.*, p. 51) we read: "Over the men of Oumma, I, Eannatum, the great drag of En-Lil have I thrown," etc.

Similarly in a more recent inscription (*Cun. Inscr. Western Asia*, i., pl. 36, l. 21; cp. L. W. King, 'Sennaherib and the Ionians,' *Journ. Hell. Stud.*, xxx., 1910, p. 327ff.) King Sargon boasts of having 'caught like fish in a net,' the Ionian pirates, and of having thus restored peace for Tyrus, a phrase which offers indeed a close analogy to the saying of Cyrus in Herodot. i. 141 (p. 17); cp. below pp. 80ff. on Habakkuk i. 14ff. As to the custom of decoying fish by the sound of flutes and cymbals see Aelian, *nat. an.* 6, 31f., 12, 43, Strabo xviii., p. 799. Athen, vii., p. 328f.

An Egyptian parallel is quoted by Sethe, *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 1916 xxi., p. 326 from Bergmann, *Hierogl. Inschr.* 70; Rougé, *Edfou* 164. The text says that the God Horus of Edfu "carries as *fishes—the Jawanu* (nomadic desert tribes), as water-fowl the Setiu (Asiatic beduins), the 'Ammu' as his prey, the Phenicians as his captives." Cp. also Aeschylos, *Pers.* 426.

Plate IX., to face p. 20.

PERSEUS AND THE FISHERMAN ON COINS OF TARSUS IN CILICIA.

Reproduced from *Journ. Hell. Studies*, xviii., 1898, pl. xiii., nos. 15-17.
The following description of these types is given by Imhof-Blumer, *l.c.*, pp. 177f.

Obv. Bust of Marcus Aurelius.
Rev. Perseus, nude with winged sandals, standing on right. His long cloak is fastened round his neck and hangs down behind, covering his back. In his right hand he holds the harp and in his left, which is raised, the cult image of Apollo and the wolves.
Opposite the hero stands a bearded fisherman in a short chitōn. The figure is turned slightly to the right and the head to the left. A fishing rod is in his outstretched hands, with a fishing basket hanging at the upper end and a large fish at the lower.

Obv. Bust of Gordian.
Rev. Similar group, only the fisherman stands on the left, is beardless and of relatively smaller stature than Perseus. The little cult image has no distinguishable attribute.

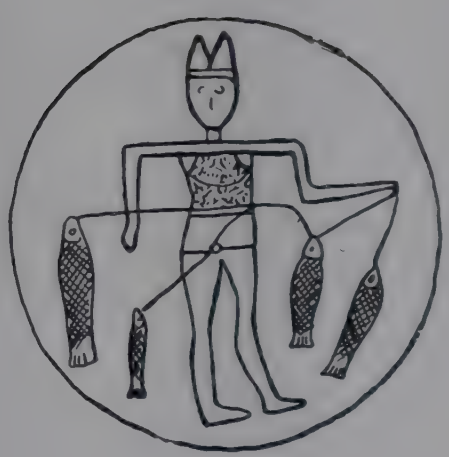
Obv. Bust of Decius.
Rev. Perseus, nude with winged sandals, standing on left, in an attitude of surprise, raising his right hand to his mouth and holding in his left the harp and drapery. Opposite the hero stands a bearded fisherman to the right in a short chiton and boots. He holds in his left hand over his shoulder a fishing rod and basket and in his right a large fish.

The subject represents an unknown local legend of Tarsus. From the fact that Perseus is so often represented with the cult-image of Apollo Lykios in his hand, and from many extant legends about ancient cult-images being landed by fishermen and then set up for worship, I should infer that Perseus, the hero and founder of the City of Tarsus, was credited with erecting in Tarsus the statue of the Lycian Apollo on his omphalos, which may have been marvellously found by a fisherman (perhaps Diktys) in the belly of a large fish. It should also be noticed that Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*, iii., 28, 37, xiii., 26, mentions a fish of the Red Sea, called 'Perseus' as well by the Greeks as by the Arabs, who both are said to worship Perseus, the son of Zeus. The fish in the hand of the fisherman on our coins may possibly be this marine name-sake or theriomorphic double of the hero. However this may be, it is remarkable that the description of the Hesiodean 'Shield of Herakles' contains the following scene with the same mythic figures that are found acting on the coins of Tarsus: Perseus, and the fisherman (Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 31), the sacred choir of the Pierian Muses and Olympus resounding from their clear voices, in the midst of them Apollo playing the lyre. Also a harbour, in it dolphins chasing the 'silent fishes.' "But on the shore sat a fisherman holding in his hands the net for the fishes, as if he were just casting it. On it [*s.c.* the shield] was also Perseus the chivalrous, the son of fairhaired Danaë," etc. Then follows a description of his costume. Cp. Studnitzka in *Serta Harteliana*, pp. 75f. and fig. 10, who, however, has overlooked our coins. An Apollon *donakites* 'the Angler' is mentioned by Hesych. See E. Maass, *Griech. u. Sem.* etc. Berlin 1902, 83_2. See also *Schol. Pind. Isthm.* 515B, the legend about the body of Melikertes being found by Donakinos ('angler') and Amphimachos.

Plate X., to face p. 22.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.



Figg. 1, 2. KAL OR ZAG-HA, THE DIVINE FISHERMAN, ON BABYLONIAN SEAL-CYLINDERS.

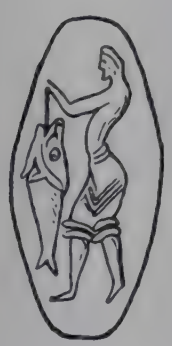
(Reproduced from *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1905, p. 57, and from Milani, *Studi e Materiali* vol. ii. p. 19, fig. 133.)

Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. BABYLONIAN SCULPTURE, REPRESENTING ZAG-HA, THE DIVINE 'WARDEN OF THE FISH.'

(Reproduced from *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1905, pl. ii.)

Fig. 4.



THE SAME DIVINITY ON A MINOAN SEALING-STONE.

(Reproduced from Milani, *l.c.* fig. 134.) On p. 21 this figure has been erroneously described, according to certain older authors, as female.

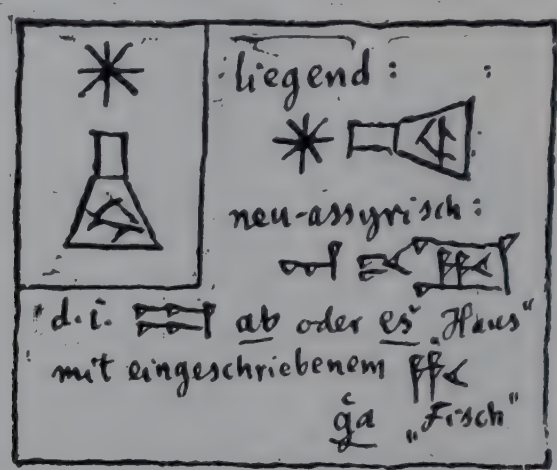
Fig. 5.

THE GOD WITH THE FISH AND THE FISHER-SPEAR ON A COIN OF RABATH MOBA IN MOAB—a town which is too distant from the sea to be dedicated to the Poseidon of the Greeks. Evidently the typical image of this god stands here for a Semitic fisher-god, maybe Poseidon *Adonaios*, mentioned by Hesych s. v. *Adonaios*. See also Rendell Harris, *Boanerges*, Cambridge, 1913, pp. 269f. 404.
(Reproduced from de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, pl. xx., No. 11.)

Fig. 1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEOGRAM FOR THE GODDESS NINUA.

According to a sketch of Prof. Hommel's (p. 48 of his appendix, '*Die Schwurgöttin Ish-hana*,' etc., to Rev. Sam. A. B. Mercer, *The Oath in Babyl. and Assyr. Literature*, Paris, Geuthner, 1912). The pronunciation NINA or NINUA—the name is obviously identic with the name of the city Nineveh—has quite lately been found on the Assur-tablet 4128, I. 6 (Weidner, *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.* 1921, xxvi., p. 17, n. 1).

Fig. 1.



The original ideographic type is the sacred tower (mountain sanctuary) of the goddess, surmounted by a star, and the crude outline of a fish in the interior of the temple. The later ideogram is composed of the sign *ish* for 'house' and the inserted sign *ha*='fish.' Sometimes (cp. the inscription quoted below, p. 39 n. 3) the goddess is simply called 'Hanna,' a name which would be regularly transcribed 'Anna' in Greek or Latin texts. Now 'Anna' appears, as has been observed by other scholars (O. Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclop.*, i. 2223), as one of the many names of the patron-goddess of Carthage, who is elsewhere called Dido (=*dodah*='beloved one') or Elissa (cp. Elusa=Arab. *halasa*, the morning star; *Zeitschr. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, xxxviii., 647f.).

Fig. 2. THE 'HOUSE OF FISH,' PERHAPS AS THE SYMBOL OF THE CARTHAGINIAN GODDESS ANNA, ON AUGUSTEAN COINS OF ABDERA IN SPAIN.

Fig. 2.

Reproduced from Al. Heiss *Description des Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne*, pl. xlv., nos. 9-11. The city is of Phenician origin; up to the reign of Tiberius its coins bear Phenician inscriptions.

N.B.—Cp. the star in the pediment above the architrave of the temple with the star surmounting the ideogram of Ishanna.

As to the fish-cult in the latter city, see preceding plate and the monuments from Carthago representing Ba'al Hammon in the shape of a fish in Dölger, *Ichthys*, pp. 435-439, also below pl. xx., fig. 4.

The god of Gadir—where Greek travellers located the 'columns of Herakles'—is figured in the lion-skin of the Greek hero. The two fishes are coupled with the astral symbols of the moon and the morning-star, either because they were considered as terrestrial incarnations, or as the sacred animals of these two heavenly bodies, or because the Moon and Venus were worshipped as fishes, when they stood in the constellation of the Fishes. Cp. the cuneiform text, iii., R. 53, Rev. l. 24ff., where it is said that both planets, Venus and Jupiter, are called 'fish of Ea' in the month Adar.

Fig. 1.

Note on this coin the moon-shaped tail-fin of the dolphin—as Ovid says '*lunata cauda delphini*'!

Note on the last coin the trident as symbol of the fisher-god, figured below, and cp. this coinage of Heraclea (Mionnet iii., 137), with the fish swallowing the fish-hook.

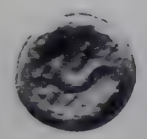


Fig. 2. COINS OF CARTEIA IN SPAIN, WITH THE FISHER-GOD.
Represented either in the well-known Poseidon type with the fish-spear (trident) or as an angler.

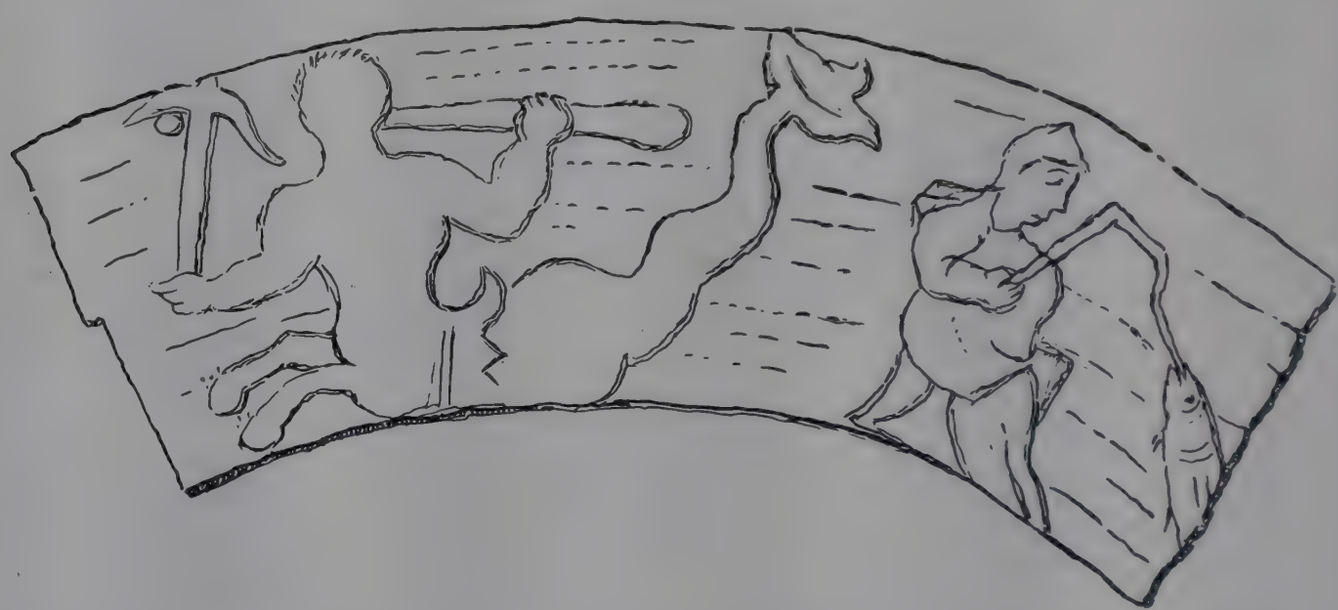
The female head with the mural crown is the eponymous divinity of the 'town' (Karth=Phœnician for 'city,' EIA may stand for *haya*, the whole meaning 'town of the tribe'), represented on other coins in the attire of a Greek Athene. The male god of the town is either figured as Hercules as in Gades or as a Jupiter.

Fig. 2.

All of these types are reproduced from Alois Heiss, *Description des Monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* (pl. xlix., 19, 20, 21; pl. li. and lvii.). Many similar coins will be found on pl. lii. (Turduli), xlvi. (Sexsi), lv. (Asido), xlv. (Abdera). As to the Poseidon-type, see pl. x. *bis*, fig. 5, and the cameo described by Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, xv. 33f., as 'certainly a Phenician god identified with Poseidon.'

Plate XIII., to face p. 23.

CELTIC FISHER-GOD, HOOKING A SALMON; ON AN ENGRAVED BRONZE FRONTLET FOR DECORATING A HEAD-DRESS.



Found in the sanctuary of Nodon, the Celtic 'God of the abyss' (*Noddyns*), the extant mosaic pavement of which is decorated with a pattern of salmons and sea monsters.

Reproduced from Bathurst and C. W. King, *Roman Antiquities at Lydney Park* (London), Longmans, Green, 1879, pl. xiii., fig. 2; cp. pp. 39f.

Plate XIV., to face p. 27, n. 1.

THE PHOKOS, OR BROWN-FISH, A PARTICULAR KIND OF DOLPHIN AND THE HERALDIC ANIMAL OF PHOCÆA, DEVOURED BY A FOX.

Coin of Phocæa in the Munich numismatic cabinet.

Reproduced from a plaster cast, which I owe to the kindness of the Director, Dr. Habich. An old engraving of this coin is to be found in Beger, *Gotha Numismat*, pp. 494, 104, 4. As to the fish-eating fox, it seems that this is really *more* than a mere fable. See the article on the fox in Brehm's *Tierleben* and Dähnhardt, *Natursagen* iv., 219ff. As to the foxes in the vineyards, p. 27, n. 2 cp. *Theokrit* i., 47. Th. Reinach, *Cultes et Mythes*, p. 115. To p. 27, n. 3 cp. my paper in "*Bayr. Hefte f. Volkskunde*," 1915, pp. 106ff.

Fig. 1.

THE GOD THOR AND THE GIANT ANGLING FOR THE MIDGARD SNAKE FROM A BOAT, USING THE HEAD OF A BULL FOR A BAIT, AS SEEN ON THE SECOND GOSFORTH CROSS.

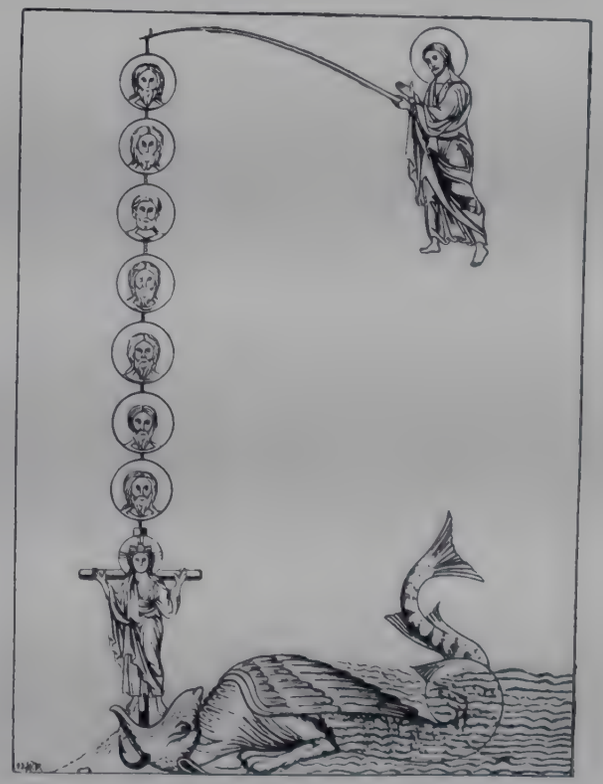
(Reproduced after Paul Hermann, *Nordische Mythologie*, p. 381, fig. 9.)

The corresponding texts (*Gylfaginning*, 48, and *Ragnarsdrapa*, 14-19) are quoted, *l.c.*, p. 376. The subject was painted on the walls of the palace of Olav 'The Peacock' (about 1000 A.D.). Cp. E. H. Meyer, *Mythol. d. Germanen*, p. 42.

Fig. 2.

GOD THE FATHER ANGLING FOR THE MYTHICAL FISH LEVIATHAN.

Miniature from the *Hortulus Deliciarum* of Herrad von Landsberg, reproduced after pl. 24 and 14bis suppl. of the edition published by Straub-Keller, Strassburg, 1897-1901.



The corresponding Patristic texts have been collected by Cahier, *Vitraux de Bourges*, p. 137ff., and Sauer, *Symbolik*, etc., Freiburg i. B, 1902, p. 334.

Plate XVI., to face page 31.

TWO PRIESTS DRESSED UP AS 'FISHES' PERFORMING A FERTILISATION-RITE AT THE SACRED TREE.

Cp. below p. 261 on the 'fish' as a phallic or fertility symbol.

Babylonian seal-cylinder reproduced from Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, fig. 216, pl. lv. Other reproductions of these fish-clad priests on seal-cylinders may be found in W. Hayes Ward's *Seal-cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, figg. 686-689, and in Dölger's *Ichthys*, p. 119, fig. 4.

Plate XVII., to face p. 31.

GALEOI OR GALEŌTAI, GREEK SHARK-PRIESTS

on a black-figured vase-painting.

Reproduced from *Mitt. des röm archæol. Instituts*, vol. ii., 1887, pl. viii. On the Cumæan origin and Ionic style of the painting, see Furtwängler, *Archaeol. Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 51.

The drawing represents a procession or dance of three old men, lifting their hands in the attitude of prayer, in ritual nakedness, with the hinder part of a shark-like fish fastened to their backs. The reverse of the vessel shows three women in a similar action, not masquerading, however, as fishes, but clothed in ordinary garments. Dümmler, the first interpreter of the painting, has taken our figures for representations of fish-tailed divinities, Tritons of an otherwise unparalleled type—namely with human legs. Of course, there is the analogy of Centaurs being represented on archaic vase-paintings with one pair of human legs and only the hinder part of a horse projecting from their backs. Yet I believe with Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, Vienna, 1898, p. 148, that the idea of anthropomorphic divinities with animal heads, skins, tails, wings, etc., arose necessarily from seeing the priests or magicians enacting the divine animal or theriomorphic god by way of masquerade with animal skins, heads, tails, etc. Thus the fancy image of a Centaur with one pair of human legs is probably influenced by a reminiscence of the familiar '*hippoi*' or '*poloi*'='horse' priests of Demeter and Bakchos (S. Wide, *Athen. Mitt.*, xx., 1894, p. 281; *Lakon. Culte*, 791, 179; the author's *Weltenmantel*, etc., p. 80, n. 1.) Even if the Cumæan painter wanted to depict half-fish shaped divine beings he must have done it in this singular way, because his memory was certainly haunted by the image of priests masquerading as sharks by fastening fish-tails to their backs. Yet since there is no reason to doubt the purely human character of the three dancing women on the other side of the vessel, it seems most natural to explain our picture also as representing a sacred dance of human beings. Dölger's description (*Ichthys*, p. 450; suppl. to p. 428) of our figures as the 'familiar satyrs' endowed for once through an artist's whim with fish-tails, is of course purely gratuitous and not likely to find any followers. If, however, the fish-tails could be interpreted as those of dolphins, not of sharks, the men could also be 'Dionysian dolphins' or '*thyrsiones*' (cp. ch. xxxvii of the type-written MS. to vol. ii. in the British Museum).

Plate XVIII., to face page 31.

TORRES-STRAITS ISLANDER DRESSED UP AS A SAW-FISH FOR THE 'SAW-FISH DANCE.'

(Reproduced from pl. xviii., fig. 2 of *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres-Straits*, vol. v.)

After a photograph taken by A. C. Haddon at Waiben, Thursday Island, in November, 1888. The mask shows the head of the saw-fish on the shoulders of the performer and above it the entire body of the fish with its characteristic tail (cp. mask A on fig 2 of the following plate). A song was sung during the dance which proves that the object of the ceremony was to bring about the special weather of the season, when "fish are coming, we must build fish-weirs in their route" (Haddon, *l.c.* p. 343).

Plate XIX., to face page 31.

Fig. 1. DANCER WEARING A FISH-MASK.
Drawing by a Torres-Straits Islander.

Fig. 2. DIFFERENT FISH-DANCE MASKS.
Drawings on bamboo tobacco-pipes in the British and Oxford Museums.

Both figures are reproduced from the *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres-Straits*, vol. v., p. 344. Cp., *l.c.* p. 345: "There can be little doubt that most of the masks of this character were employed in magical ceremonies that had relations to fishing operations."

ASSYRIANS FEEDING FISH FOR DIVINATORY PURPOSES, AS SHOWN ON THE EMBOSSED BRASS WORK FROM THE PALACE GATES OF KING SALMANASSAR II., IN IMGHURBEL (BALAWAT).

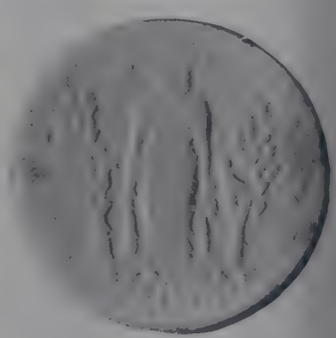
Reproduced from pl. i.A, 1, 2, in Ad. Billerbeck and Friedr. Delitzsch's publication of these bronze door-fittings (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft*, vi. 1). The cuneiform inscription, which refers to the scenes in question, says: "I (*sc.* Salmanassar II.) set up a likeness (of mine) at the sea of Naire (=lake Van in Armenia); sacrificial lambs I sacrificed to my gods." On the left we see the waves of lake Van, in the water a big and a small fish, and aquatic beasts, the one with two, the other with four legs (an otter?), which Delitzsch has not been able to identify. However strange it may sound to the modern reader, they too are meant for fishes by the sculptor, since we read in a cuneiform text (iii. Rawl., 52, No. 3, 31ff.; cp. Lenormant, *Magie*, p. 440 Hunger, *Tieromina*, p. 163, n. 1) the following amazing statement: 'If *a fish of a pool*, an inimical one, *who has two feet like the birds of the sky* . . . . . opens the . . . . of his mouth, then his tongue . . . ,'' etc. To these animals in the water two soldiers are throwing food, probably bits of meat from the sacrifice, which the king is performing before a portable tripod-altar, placed before the newly erected royal portrait *stēlē*, between the royal standards, a high candelabrum and a tripod with a censer (?) on top, while *two lyre-players* (on the right) are accompanying the whole ceremony with the sound of their music. Most probably the purpose of the whole rite is to find out from the movements and the degree of voracity of the fish (cp. Aelian *Nat. An.* viii. 5 and xii. 1, above p. 30 n. 2) whether the sacrifice is welcome to the gods or not. Pliny relates (n. h. 32, 8), that in Lycia in the spring of Apollon at Myrae the fishes come at the thrice repeated call of a flute-player to the oracle place. Roast meat is thrown to them, if they devour it the omen is a lucky one, if they refuse it, the contrary. A comparison of the passage with Aelian l.c. and Athenaeus vii. 8 shows that it is derived from Polycharm of Naukratis *History of Lycia*. Both in Aelian and Athenaeus the '*orphoi*' are specially mentioned among the sacred fishes of this oracle place.

Plate XXI., to face p. 36, n. 3.

THE OAK ZEUS (ASKRAIOS, FROM *ASKRA* = 'OAK') WITH THE TWO PROPHETIC DOVES SITTING ON TOP OF THE SACRED TREES. THE GOD HOLDS A FISH IN EACH HAND.

1

2



3

Coins of Halicarnassus. Figg. 1 and 3 are reproduced from examples preserved in the Royal Bavarian Numismatic Cabinet; Fig. 2 from one in the British Museum (*Cat. Greek Coins of Caria*, p. 111, no. 88), illustr. *Class. Review*, 1903, p. 416. As to the somewhat primitive modelling of the fishes in nos. 1 and 3, cp. the fish on the Stroganoff-ring below, pl. xxxviii., fig. 3.

AND FISH ON COIN OF CYZICUS.

Reproduced from Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, ii., p. 73, fig. 258.

THE FISH AND THE POMEGRANATE SACRIFICED TO THE AXE-GOD. ASSYRIAN SEAL-CYLINDER in the British Museum (no. 89470).

Reproduced from Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, etc., pl. 56, no. 226.

Fig. 3 (to p. 37 note).

FRAGMENT FROM A CRETAN VASE-PAINTING OF THE MINOAN PERIOD SHOWING THE SACRED FISH CONJOINED WITH THE SACRED DOUBLE-AXE.

Reproduced from *Annals of the British School of Athens*, ix., 1902-3, p. 115, fig. 75.

THE JOINT SYMBOLS OF THE AXE AND THE FISH ON A PHŒNICIAN INSCRIPTION (no. 1591).

Reproduced from pl. 30 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* (Phœnician Inscriptions, vol. ii., fasc. 1.)

Fig. 5 (to p. 37 note).

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTION SHOWING THE TRADITIONALLY COMBINED SYMBOLS OF THE AXE, THE FISH AND THE DOVE.

Reproduced from Aringhi, *Roma sotteranea*, ii., 259.

The dove with the olive-branch could be meant for the dove of Noah, the axe for that of Noah and of the Messianic 'carpenter' (below, p. 134, n. 1, and p. 190, n. 2), while the fish would symbolise immunity from the final deluge (below, chs. xxiv. and xv.). I now prefer this interpretation to that suggested in the note to p. 37.

Plate XXIII., to face p. 40.

THE DEIFIED SOUL
OF A DECEASED EGYPTIAN REPRESENTED IN THE SHAPE OF
THE SACRED OXYRHYNCHUS FISH.

Egyptian sarcophagus from the Hellenistic period.

Reproduced from *Archiv. f. Religionswissenschaft*, vol. xii., p. 574.

Besides the literature which is quoted in the text, cp. A. Wiedemann, '*Der Fisch Aut*' in *Sphinx*, xiv. 6. pp. 231-244, and E. Mahler, '*Das Fischsymbol auf ägyptischen Denkmälern*,' ZDMG, 1913, pp. 37-48.

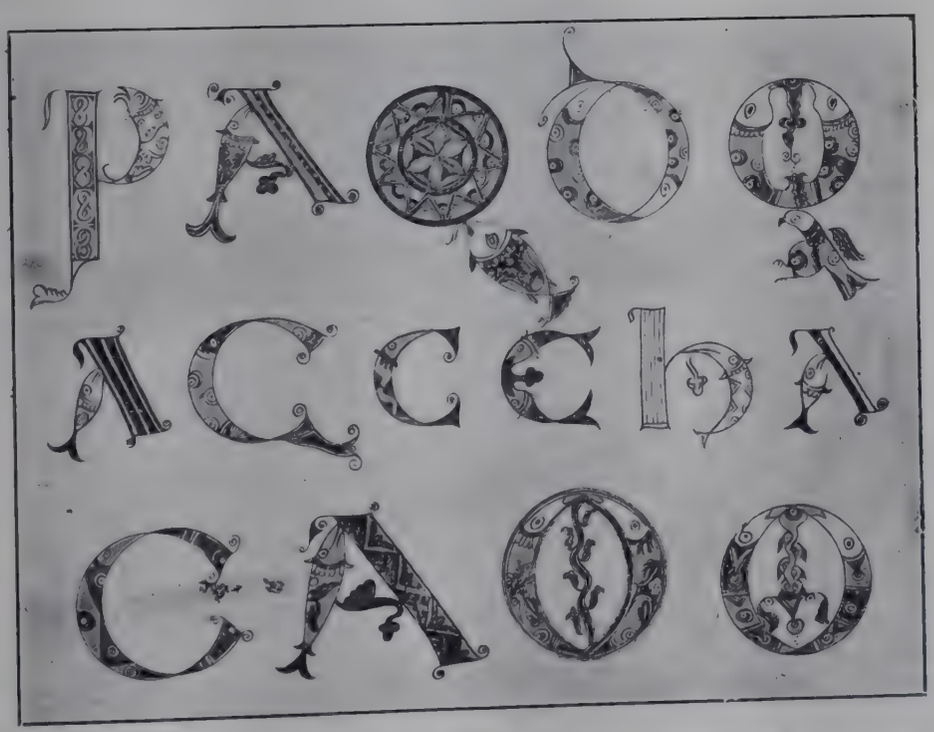
Fig. 1. THE CROSS AND THE A-B-C BETWEEN TWO FISHES ON AN EARLY CHRISTIAN EARTHENWARE JAR.

Excavated on the site of ancient Carthage.

Reproduced after fig. 20 in Dom Cabrol's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, vol. i., c. 53. (de Rossi, *Bull. Arch. crist.*, Rome, 1880, pl. viii.).

Fig. 2. LETTERS FROM THE SO-CALLED FISH (OR FISH AND DOVE) ALPHABET.

Often used in liturgical manuscripts of the Merovingian period.



Reproduced after Comte Bastard d'Estang, *Peintures et Ornemens des Manuscrits*, etc., pl. 22, of the copy in the Royal Library of Munich.

Many other examples are to be found on the preceding and the following plates of the same work and elsewhere. Cp. on these 'ichthyomorphic' letters and their symbolic character, Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.* iii. 581, no. 169, 170.

In Chinese literature a letter is figuratively called a 'fish-document' or 'pair of fish' or 'pair of carp.' 'The coming and going of fish' means the same as correspondence. (Dr Laufer in *The Open Court*, July, 1911, p. 409.)

Plate XXV., to face p. 44.

BABYLONIAN PRIEST MASQUERADING AS 'FISH OF EA.'
From scene of exorcism on a brass bell of the Berlin Museum.

Reproduced from fig. 70A, pl. xxi., of Morris Jastrow's *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1912; cp. col. 48 of the corresponding text.)

Priests in the same attire and also in the act of banishing demons with animal heads will be found on the well-known and often reproduced bronze relief, Jastrow, No. 100 (cp. fig. 2 in Dölger's *Ichthys*, p. 114).

Also on a great wall sculpture executed in alabaster, excavated in Nimrud, now in the British Museum (Layard, *Monuments*, ii., pl. 6). Reproduced in Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, fig. 95, pl. xxxi. Such figures are described by Berossos (Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 22) as the 'many still extant images of Oannes' (Hani).

With regard to the Babylonian tradition about Oannes Ichthyophagos (p. 45, n. 3) emerging from the Persian Gulf, it is interesting to find in Pliny vi., 24, Pomponius Mela iii., 8 and Strabo xvi., 746 a description of a fish-eating people at the Carmanian coast, *clothing itself into fish-skins* (most probably derived from the expedition report of Alexander's Admiral Nearchos). This would lead to the conclusion, that the Babylonians attributed the origin of their own (Sumerian) picture writing to an immigration of the *Hani*, who may be identical with the later Hani-Rabbateans (or Galbateans?) of 'Great Hani' in North Syria—from the Carmanian shore of the Persian Gulf to the low-lands of Southern Babylonia. Such an immigration would be a prehistoric parallel to the invasion of Mesopotamia by large fleets of Indian pirates from the Sindh and Beloochistan during the Califate of Motâçim (Masoûdi, *Tanbîh*, p. 354, l. 4ff.) On the alleged Dravidic face type of the ancient Sumerian, cp. H. R. Hall, *Ancient Hist., Near East*, London, 1920, p. 173, II. As to the Greek form Oan-nes for HA-NI it is easily explained since we know that the sign HA 'fish' has also the values KUA or HUA. As to the possible reading HA-ZAL "Fish-eater" see Hippolyt. ref. V. 136, Reitzenst. *Poim.* 84: the Assyrians say, "that with them the first man was called Iannes Ichthyophagos, but with the Chaldeans Adam" (probably the A-DA-PA of the famous legend of Eridu, reading PA as MA, even as PI is regularly read ME, WE!). This equation of Adam and Iannes may underlie a strange Maltese tradition. Canning's friend Sir Hookham Frere, English Ambassador in Madrid was told by a trustworthy Maltese teacher, that when the Maltese—as the reader may remember an *Arabic* speaking people!—talk openly about their religion, they are wont to say: 'everybody knows that the first man was called Adam, but that he had fish-scales [above p. 34, n. 1], we alone know.' (J. v. Bunsen, *Agyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte*, V. Gotha 1857, p. 2994.)

Plate XXVI., to face p. 45, n. 2.

HERMES FISHING.

Black-figured vase in the Pancoucke collection, Boulogne-sur-Mer.

Reproduced from Lenormant-de Witte, *Elite de Monuments céramographiques*, vol. iii., pl. lxxv. The vase mentioned in the text, p. 452, is reproduced on the plate facing p. 259. Cp. *The Open Court*, 1911, pp. 391ff., on the Japanese merchant-god Ebis pictured as a fisherman. Pausanias vii., 22, 2, mentions sacred fish of Hermes Agoraios —possibly the tutelary god of the fish-market—kept in a fountain at Pharoi in Arcadia Hermes invoked by fishermen Oppian, Halieut. iii. 26.

THE COMBINED SYMBOLS OF THE 'FISH' AND 'CORN' DIVINITY ON COINS OF ILIPA MAGNA,

OF ITUCI AND CERET

IN SPAIN.

Reproduced rom Al. Heiss, *Descr. Monn. ant. Espagne*, pl. lvi., lvii., and li. Again (cp. above, pl. xii.) astral symbols—the Moon, Venus and perhaps Jupiter, who was occasionally called a 'fish' (see text to pl. xii.) in oriental astrology—are to be seen side by side with the fish. This is all the more interesting, since Hommel has called attention to the fact, that the constellation *spica* (=*corn ear*, as Babylonian astrology and, following its example, the Greek and Latin called the zodiacal sign of the Virgin) is named *simak* by the Arabians, to which unexplained word he compares Arabic *samak*= 'fish' (ZDMG 45, 596f.). With this cp. the fact that, as early as in old Sumerian inscriptions the goddess 'house of the fish' (cp. above pl. xi. on Ninua) is also called Nin-en, 'Lady of cereals' (Hommel, 'Is-hana,' p. 65). On Adapa as *baker and fisher* of Eridu see *Keilschr. Bibl.* vi. i., p. 92f., ll. 10 and 15. As to the God Dagan—thus in cuneiform inscriptions—or Dagon, his name is both suggestive of *dagan*='corn' and *dag-on* (dimin.) ='little fish'; indeed even in antiquity (see the testimonies in *Enc. Bibl.* 984) the name was explained as that of a fish- and as that of a corn- or agriculture-god. Philo Herrennius of Byblos, a Phœnician author (Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* 3567f.) interprets Dagon by '*Siton*' (corn-giver), evidently playing on the Phœnician name *Sidon* of the *fisher*-god. Still another instance of the same combination of religious symbols may be found in the place-name *Beth-lehem* 'house of *bread*,' which according to Tomkins (PEFQ, 1885, p. 112) was originally spelt *Beth-Lahm* (cp. Beit Lahm in modern Arabic)= 'sanctuary of the god Lahmu,' who is mentioned alongside his female counterpart Lahamu in the beginning of the Babylonian creation-epic. Now Hommel has shown that the name Lahmu is identical with the Arabian word *luhm*='shark.' The Babylonian word *lahmu* is in fact equivalent to the Greek '*kētos*'=*marine monster, dragon, whale, monster fish*, etc., and this meaning suits all the places where *lahmu*-images, etc., are mentioned in cuneiform tablets. Thus a sanctuary of that name—there were several Bethlehems—would at the same time be a 'house of bread' and a 'house of the shark.'

Plate XXVII. bis, to face p. 49, n. 1.

APOLLO WITH SACRED FISHES

AND APOLLO WITH A FISH AND THREE BARLEY-CORNS.

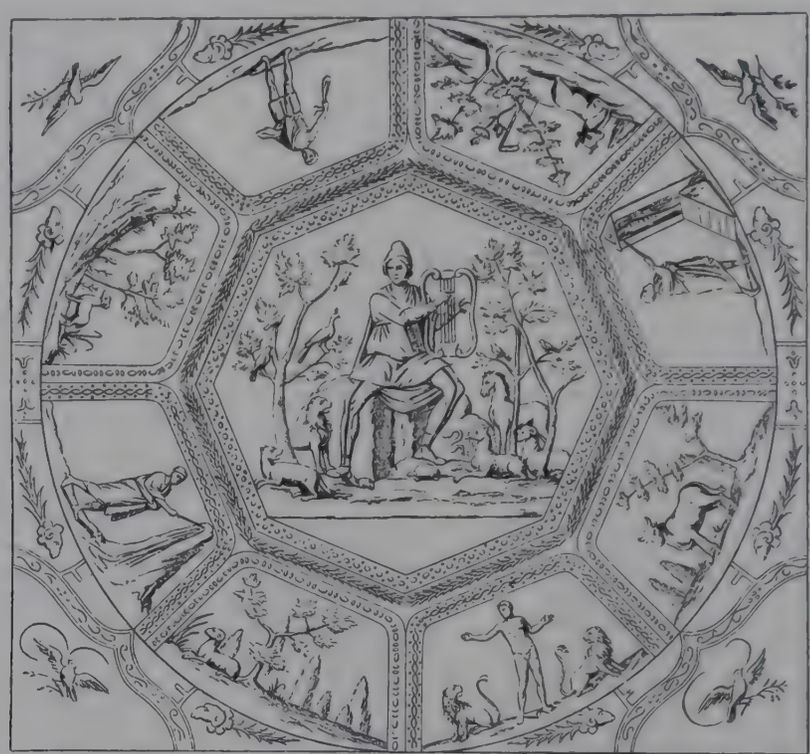
Coins of Leontini in Sicily (Brit. Mus. *Catal. of Greek Coins of Sicily*, p. 92. no. 55 and p. 94, nos. 76f.). (The autotype reproduction from a specimen in the Royal Bavarian collection.)

As to the fishes, cp. the sacred fish at Sura, the Lycian sanctuary of Apollo (above p. 14. n. 1) and the Delian Apollo as owner of the fishing-rights along the coasts of the island (above pl. xx). In Athens the people also dedicated the produce of the fishing on the coast to Apollo (Boeckh. *Staatshaushalt der Athener*. i., 414) As to the combination of the fish and the barley-corns, cp. the text to the preceding plate. The combination seems to imply, that in Leontini Apollo succeeded a Phœnician corn-and fish-god akin to the one worshipped in the Phœnician settlements in Spain. The lion-head—alluding to the name of the city—may be compared with the god in the lion's mask on the coins of Gadir (above, pl. xii.).

Plate XXVIII., to face p. 51.

PAINTED CEILING FROM THE DOMITILLA CATACOMB (3rd century A.D.).

(Bottari, *Scult. e Pitt. Sagre*, Rome, 1746, 2, 63. Roller, *Catac. de Rome*, 1, 36, 3. Sybel, *Christl. Antike*, vol. i., p. 155.)



Centre: *Orpheus among his animals* (horse, ram, leopard, snake, tortoise, rat, tiger, lion, peacock, and other birds). Around: Daniel in the den of the lions; the raising of Lazarus; David with the sling; Moses bringing forth water from the rock; and, alternating with these scenes, symbolic pictures of sheep and cattle (cp. on the 'calves' and 'oxen' in the flock of the Christ, above p. 57 and the text to pl. xlvii.) grazing in Paradise. In the four corners four images of Noe's dove with the olive branch, symbolising the salvation of the pious from the final deluge (below, ch. xxv.).

On the symbolism of the tamed animals around the prophet, cp. the Jewish theory based on *Is.* xi. 1-6 (p. 52 of the text), that in the Messianic age complete peace will reign among the animals and between them and men (*Sibyll.* iii. 787-791; Philo *De Praem. et Poen.*, § 15, vol. ii., p. 421f., Mangey; *Jubilees*, 37, 21ff.; *Apoc. Baruch* 73, 6; Targum to *Is.* xi. 6; cp. *Sifra*, 111a; Paul Volz, *Jüd. Eschatol.*, Tübingen, 1903, p. 346 n.e). This state will be reached, when—according to *Is.* v. 14—the virgin will become pregnant and give birth to a son, who is to live on the Paradisic food of milk and honey, and whose name will be 'Immanu-el'='God with us.' Now, strangely and without any reason in the Hebrew pronunciation, this name is quoted in the New Testament (*Matt.* i. 23) as *E*mmanuel. In view of the many other instances of mystic numerical speculation on Orphic, Pythagorean and Christian names that will be found discussed on pp. 115-120, the reader might be interested to learn that *Emmanuel*, ΕΜΜΑΝΟΥΗΛ = 5+12+12+1+13+15+20+7+11=*96* is an *isopsēphon* (on the term and the system of calculation, see p. 116 n.1) of Orpheus, ΟΡΦΕΥΣ=15+17+21+5+20+18=*96*. Such an argument could well convince a former Orphic and Pythagorean initiate that the Messiah *E*mmanuel, prophesied in the scriptures of the Hebrews, would be a reincarnation of the mythic Orpheus. The belief that with the coming of Jesus the Christ the Kingdom of Heaven had already begun to influence the animal world is manifest in certain legends. Thus St. Thekla is said to have baptised a lion, St. Thomas a donkey, St. Philip a leopard and a kid. If we hear in the 'Miracles of St. Eustathios' (Nestle, ZNTW, 1910, p. 88) that lions listened to John the Baptist, we may suppose that the Baptists also identified their hero with Orpheus, they too using perhaps arithmo-mystical arguments (ΙΩΑΝΗΣ—this orthography is the regular one in Christian inscriptions and in the Codex B of the New Testament [Westcott-Hort App. 159]—being isopsephic (=72) with ΟΡΦΑΣ, an odd orthography of the name, which has been found on the treasury of the Sikyonians in Delphi. In the Mandæan *Book of John* recently translated by M. Lidzbarski, Giessen, 1915, p. 86, the Baptist says: "before the sound of my voice and the sound of my sermons *the fishes* offered me their salutations, before the sound of my voice the birds made their bows."

In the hymn of Damasus and Hieronymus, published by de Rossi, *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 4/5, 1887, p. 29ff., the Christ is praised as having united 'the various tongues into one song, so that animals and birds are able to know their God.' Indeed Clemens of Alexandria discusses seriously the Xenokratean idea, that animals too have a certain knowledge of the divinity (*Strom.* v. 13). On the other hand in the Ethiopic *Book of Henoch*, chs. 89, 10, 55, 66, the Jews are symbolised by sheep, the other nations by a long list of wild animals. Thus Orpheus would be an appropriate symbol for the mission among the Gentiles.

Plate XXIX., to face p. 52 (l. 11.)

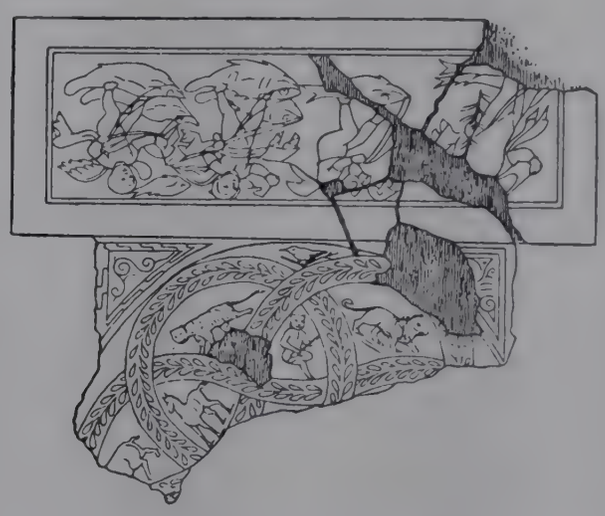
DAVID AS A LYRE-PLAYING SHEPHERD (cp. *Genes.* 420f.) REPRESENTED IN THE TYPICAL ATTITUDE OF ORPHEUS AMONG THE ANIMALS.*

Title page from the Chludow-Psalter (Cod. 139 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris). Reproduced from Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, pl. xiv. This composition, which recurs in a whole group of illustrated psalter-manuscripts (Wickhoff *l.c.* p. 183, n.*), and certainly goes back to the initial stages of Christian art, is highly important for us, because it shows who is meant by the Orpheus-shepherd among the *domestic* animals (described on pp. 51f.) in the catacombs. As a matter of fact, this particular Christian Orpheus type should regularly be interpreted as a lyre-playing shepherd David, and the Christian Orpheus among the wild and tame animals is the reborn Messianic King David, the rod out of the stem of Jesse, according to *Isaiah* xi. 1 and 6 (p. 52 of the text). Note the sacred pillar with the Dionysian *kratêr* or mixing-bowl on top and the fillet fastened round it (cp. below, pl. lxxv.). The Dryad Echo is listening in rapture behind the pillar. The muse behind the singer was in the Pagan original, the Muse Kalliope, Orpheus' mother; the Christian artist has inscribed her as 'Melody.' In the corner on the right we see the mountain-god of the locality, intended in the original for the Thracian Hæmus or Olympus, but whom the Christian painter has inscribed as 'Mount Bethlehem' (!). The architecture in the back-ground, which stands now for the city-gates of Bethlehem, were intended in the original to suggest a Bakchic sanctuary like the buildings on our pl. lxxv. To the texts quoted p. 52 n. 1, cp. the newly discovered mosaic of the Basilica Theodoriana in Aquilea (Jahrb. Kunsthist. Inst. Zentr. Komm., 1915, pl. vii.), representing the 'good shepherd' carrying the lamb, with the reed-pipe, *but without a rod*, amidst a congregation of various animals, such as a stag, an antelope, a pheasant, snake-eating storks, sheep, goats, fishes and birds.

* The first to observe the iconographic connexion of this David with the Orpheus-type was—as far as I know—Strzygowski in the *Zeitschr. d. deutschen Palästina Vereins*, 1901, p. 146. Cp. the same author in *Kern, Orpheus*, Berlin, 1920, p. 63, pl. 1, about the early Christian ivory representing Adam in Paradise in the guise of an Orpheus among the beasts; also Strzygowski, *Armenia*, p. 294, on an Armenian frieze with Adam amidst thirty-two different animals. The midras of Solomon's reign over the animal kingdom (Wünsche, *Isr. Lehrh.* II., p. 1), should also be remembered.

Plate XXX., to face p. 54, n.

MONKEY IN THE ATTITUDE OF AN ORPHEUS WITH HIS LUTE LURING THE ANIMALS AND CUPIDS DRIVING WITH REINS DOUBLE TEAMS OF FISHES.

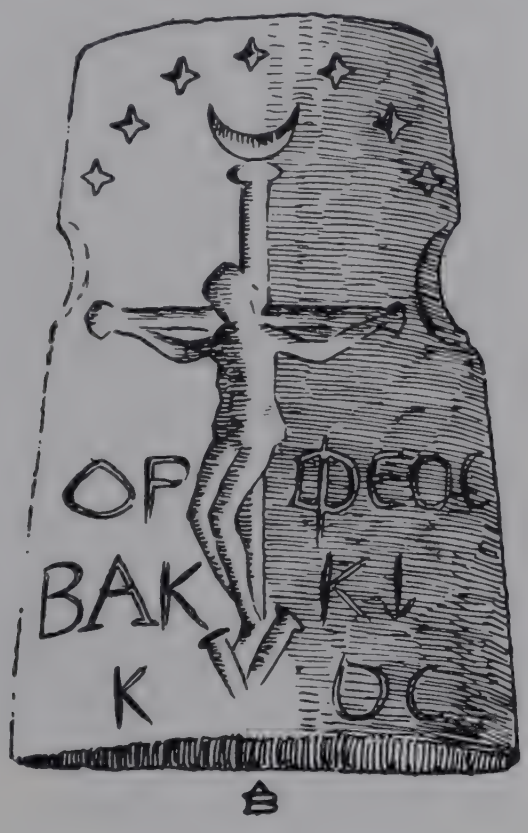


Centre and frieze of a mosaic excavated in Soussa (1882) on the site of the ancient Hadrumetum (see *Bullet. des Antiqu. afric.* v., 1887, p. 380; *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 213; *Revue de l'Afrique française*, v., 1887, p. 394; these periodicals were not to be obtained in any German library; I have to thank Monsieur A. Héron de Villefosse for procuring the little block in Paris), now in the Louvre in Paris (*Catalogue somm. Marbres Antiques*, nos. 1797/1798). The parodistic representation of Orpheus as an ape compares on the one hand with the celebrated attack of Gregory of Nazianzus on the Emperor Julian, where he calls this last great Pagan theologian an 'ape' of Christianity, on the other hand with the theory of Justin, that the Mithraic sacrament of the bread is a devilish Pagan-*imitation* of the Christian Eucharist. While Clemens of Alexandria calls Orpheus a swindler (p. 54, note in our text), the Christian inspirer of this unique parodistic Orpheus mosaic would characterise Orpheus—evidently because of the similarity between certain Orphic and the parallel Christian rites (below, chs. xxxvi.; vol. II., xl., xli., xlvi., lii.)—as an 'ape' mimicking the lyre-playing of the real Eunomos, the 'Logos' alluring his faithful to Mount Zion by the 'new song' of divine reason (above ip. 54 note) and the 'fishes' (below, ch. xlvii.) of Orpheus as beings that are driven along by their lusts (*erotes*) or passions (*lat. cupidines*) only. The monument—a Christian counterpart to the Pagan caricature of the crucified Christ with the head of a donkey from the Palatine barracks, now in the Lateran Museum—is a document of that hostility between the African Christians and the unconverted votaries of the Dionysian mysteries, which once induced, according to Tertullian (*Apolog.* 37), the partakers of the Bacchanalia to penetrate with violence into the Christian cemeteries of Carthage and desecrate the tombs there. On the other hand, even as Wuensch, *Sethianische Verfluchingstafeln*, p. 110, has denied that the ass-headed crucified god of the Palatine is meant as a caricature, explaining it on the contrary as a gnostic picture of the Egyptian god Seth-Typhon, as identified with the crucified Christ, there is just a slight possibility that the ape in the present mosaic may be meant to represent the *kynokephalos*-ape of the Egyptian god Thot, the Lord of Wisdom and patron god of musicians, who could easily be identified with Orpheus by some syncretistic worshipper.

Plate XXXI., to face p. 54.

THE CRUCIFIED CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.

Hematite seal-cylinder in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum of Berlin. Reproduced from a drawing (five times the size) by A. Becker, executed under the supervision of the present writer after plaster impressions, which were most kindly supplied by Dr. Wulff, director of the Early Christian and Byzantine Collection of this Museum.



The engraving shows the crucified Christ hanging on a cross, the astro-mystical interpretation of which is made evident by the superposition of the crescent and the seven stars; most probably the Pleiads or 'Lyre of Orpheus,' are meant. Then the cross itself is probably to be identified with * * *, the main stars of Orion, whom the ancients (see Gruppe's Handbook, p. 9484) sometimes held to be the constellation of Dionysos. The inscription 'Orpheos Bakkikos' is intended to identify the crucified Messiah with the 'Orpheus' of the Bacchic mysteries. The ring-stone, which certainly belonged to an Orphic initiate, who had turned Christian without giving up completely his old religious beliefs, is attributed to the 3rd or the 4th century A.D. It cannot be much earlier in any case considering the late introduction of the *crucifixus* type into Christian art.

STATUE OF AN ORPHIC 'BOUKOLOS' (6TH CENTURY B.C.). THE SO-CALLED 'CALF-BEARER' FROM THE ACROPOLIS.

Attic work of the Pisistratian period—according to the inscription on its basis—dedicated by Rhombos, the Son of Palos, who is probably represented here in the *rôle* of an Orphic 'cattleherd' or 'boukolos,' that is to say, as a dignitary of the Dionysian mysteries, which flourished in Athens at that very time; see the author's book '*Weltenmantel*,' etc., pp. 710f. Pisistratos bore the name *Bakis* (Suid, s. v.), and the new Lydo-Hellenic bilingual inscription Littmann, *Sardis*, vol. vi., Leiden, 1916, p. 39, shows that *Bakis* is *Lydian* for *Dionysos*. That means that Pisistratus wore the *title* Bakis, because he was an illuminate, one of the '*few bacchoi*' among the many wand-bearers.

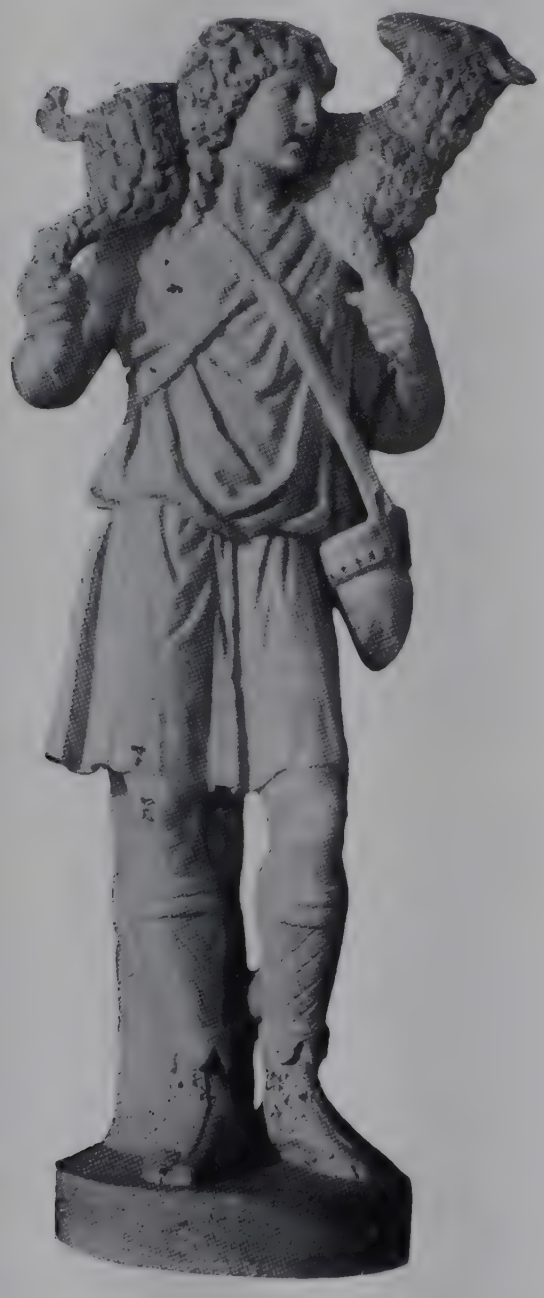
Reproduced from Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. vi. (Ersatztafel). The inscription is discussed by Winter, *Athen. Mitt.*, xiii., 1888, p. 113. The meaning of the figure—which at one time was explained, *incredibile dictu*, as Theseus, shouldering the vanquished Minotaur!—has always been a puzzle to archæologists. The current opinion is, that Rhombos wished to emphasize his piety by being portrayed in the attitude of carrying a sacrificial victim to the altar. Yet the analogous Christian 'Good Shepherd' and Pagan Hermes 'Kriophoros' statues suggest far more plausibly that the 'calf' is to be explained as denoting symbolically a lasting quality or dignity of the dedicator. It may be noticed as a remarkable coincidence, if nothing more, that the man Rhombos is called by the name of one of the mysterious Orphic symbols—*astragalos*, *sphaira*, *strobilos*, *mēla*, *RHOMBOS*, *esoptron*, *pokos*—which are enumerated by Clemens Alex., *Cohort*, p. 5 (*Rhombos*=the 'bull-roarer').

A portrait statue of a certain Biton in the same attitude was seen and described in the Lyceum of Argos by Pausanias, ii. 195.

An Orpheus carrying a shepherd's rod is to be seen on a sculpture of the Museum of Mantua; see Gruppe in Roscher's *Lex. Myth.*, vol. iii. 1, c. 1198, p. 49.

Plate XXXIII., to face p. 57.

CHRISTIAN GOOD SHEPHERD STATUE IN THE LATERAN MUSEUM
(2ND CENTURY A.D.)



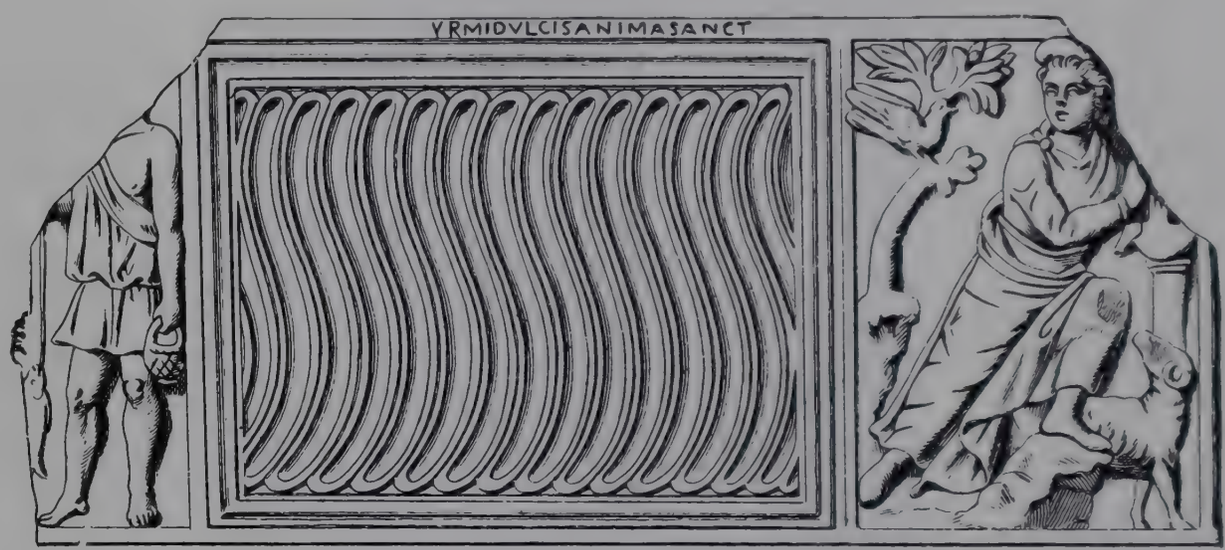
Reproduced from the frontispiece in L. v. Sybels, *Christliche Antike.*

The Jewish texts about the Good Shepherd Moses, carrying the lost lamb home on his shoulder, and on the Messiah as the second Moses and Good Shepherd of Israel, have been collected by J. Scheftelowitz, *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, xiv. 31f.

On the type itself, cp. Bergner, *Der gute Hirt in der altchristlichen Kunst*, 1890, and Clausnitzer, *Die Hirtenbilder in der altchristlichen Kunst*, Dissert., Erlangen, 1904.

Plate XXXIV., to face p. 59.

THE CORRESPONDING FIGURES OF THE FISHER AND ORPHEUS



on a Christian sarcophagus from Ostia, now in the Lateran Museum (cp. Ficker, *Altchristl. Bildwerke im Lateran*, no. 156, p. 101; the inscription FIRMI DULCIS ANIMA SANCTA='The holy soul of sweet Firmus,' in CIL xiv., 1905). Previous reproductions and descriptions in Visconti, *Dichiarazione di un Sarcophago di Ostia, Dissertazioni della pontificia Academia romana archeologica*, L. xv., pp. 159ff., Rome, 1859; F. X. Kraus, *Realencyclopadie*, ii. 563; Roller, *Les Catacombes de Rome*, 1879, pl. lvi. and Garucci, *Storia dell' Arte Cristiana*, tav. cccvii. 3. The costume and position of this Orpheus is strangely reminiscent of the well-known Mithras figures. The type is exactly repeated as centre-piece of another, quite similar sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum (O. Wulff, *Altchr. u. byz., Kunst*, Berlin, 1913, p. 10f. fig. 87). Another similar sarcophagus, excavated at the Lungara in 1905 (Wulff, *l.c.*, p. 100, fig. 88, now in the Museo delle Terme), opposes the fisher to the 'Good Shepherd' glyph. As to the peculiar ornamentation of these so-called 'strigilated' sarcophagi, Wulff has well observed, *l.c.*, p. 106, that no other class of Christian sarcophagi is so profusely decorated with *pagan* scenes. 'A certain number of these coffins betray by their bulging form their descendency *from the wooden, channelled Bacchic vine-vat*; even the lion-masks on both sides, the fictitious decoration of the bung-holes, are seldom wanting on older samples.' The apparently *baroque* idea of burying the dead in wine-vats is probably a typic custom of Dionysian initiates, intended to secure the bliss of eternal drunkenness (above p. 289). In the Dipylon cemetery of Athens (*Athen. Mitt.*, 1893, pp. 165, 184), the corpses in certain graves were found wrapped in vines (cp. with this the Christian mystic *symbolon* 'to abide in the vine' John 15, 4). Corn, beans—the tabooed beans of Orpheus and Pythagoras!—and *wine-seeds* were found in old graves under the Forum Romanum (v. Duhn, *Arch. f. Rel. Wiss.*, xi., p. 412).

Plate XXXV., to face p. 60.

Fig. 1.

DIONYSOS PHALEN OR HALIEUS AS PATRON GOD OF FISHERMEN.
IGURED ATTIC VASE-PAINTING IN THE MUSEUM FOR ARTS AND INDUSTRIES OF VIENNA (5th century .C.)

The charming little picture has been published by R. v. Schneider, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. a. Osterr. Ungarn*, 1879, p. 742.

Fig. 2

FISHING SILEN.
TH CENTURY RED FIGURED WINE-CUP IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Hartwig, *Meisterschalen Stuttgart*, 1893, p. 59, fig. 8.

Fig. 3.

THE FISHER AMONG THE SATYRS OF THE BACCHIC THIASOS. RED FIGURED CUPS PAINTED BY CHACHRYLION (transition from 6th to 5th century B.C.), found in Orvieto; Bourguignon Collection, Naples.

After Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pl. v.; text on pp. 54-60.

Plate XXXVI., to face p. 60.

THE BACCHIC FISHER AND THE MAENAD ON A PAIR OF DECORATIVE (BOTTOMLESS) COMPANION AMPHORAE (4th century B.C.), from the excavations of Rudiae and Caelium, near Lecce, Ostrogovic Collection, Nos. 53 and 55, unedited, now in the City Museum of History and Fine Arts of Trieste.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Each of the two figures is enclosed in an architectonic frame representing a little 'aedicula' or temple-cell. The Bacchante carries the 'mystic chest' and a big grape. With the left hand she feeds a tame fallow-fawn. The fisher enters the little sanctuary with two big fishes hanging on his carrying yoke (cp. pl. x., figs. 1, 2, and 3). On the reverse of both vases a big, very sketchy female head, according to Prof. Alberto Puschi, the Director of the said Museum, to whose kindness I also owe the two photographs, meant for a Maenad's face. See R. v. Schneider, *Arch.-epigr. Mitt. a. Oestern.* III. 1879, p. 26. n. 2, and Hoernes, *ibid.*, p. 67.

RAVING BACCHANTE BRANDISHING A FISH IN EACH HAND, ITHYPHALLIS SATYR AND WAND-BEARER. After Delaborde Vases, Lamberg, suppl. II., pl. 3. RED-FIGURED VASE-PAINTING (5th century B.C.), from the collection of Count Lamberg, now in the Imperial Court Museum of Vienna.

(*a*)

(*b*)

SNAKE-RENDING MAENAD.

RED-FIGURED VASE-PAINTING, after Jane E. Harrison, *Prolegom. to the Study of Greek Religion*, p. 400, fig. 126; *Journ. Hell. Stud.* xix., p. 220, fig. 6.

The fish may be the sacred 'Bakchos' fish—red sea-mullet (Dorion in his *Book on Fishes*, quoted by Athenaeus, iii., p. 118; Hikesios, *ibid.*, vii., p. 306E—whose name indicates a connection with the Bacchic mysteries. The frenzied woman with the two fishes in her hands compares with the one holding two snakes (fig. *b*) and with the Bacchic figures brandishing and rending asunder fallow-fawns, etc., reproduced on plate xxxvii *bis*. We know that the Maenads in their frenzy were wont to rend to pieces and to devour in a rough state snakes (Galen, *Antid.* I. 8, xiv., p. 45, Kuhn; *Prudentius c. Symm.* I, 130 lx., 129, Migne), fawns (Phot. s.v. *nebrizein*; vase-painting, Munich, No. 807), goats (Phot. s.v. *aigizein*), bulls (Firm. Mat., *err.*, 65, Hahn), calves (Eurip., *Bakch.*, 726, see plate xxxvii *bis*), dogs, etc., even plants, ivy for instance, in short everything wherein the god—as snake—Dionysos Sabazios, as goat-Dionysos Eriphios, bull or ivy-Dionysos was supposed to incarnate himself. Most probably there was also a sparagmos (dilaceration) and raw eating (omophagia) of the 'bakchos' fish who may have been considered as the animal form of the sea- or lake-Dionysos (Pelagios or Limnaios).

The catching of the fish for this ceremony may be represented on pl. xxxv., figs. 1, 2, 3, and plate xxxvi, fig. 1.

(*c*)

FALLOW-FAWN RENT ASUNDER BY DIONYSOS *OMESTER*, THE 'RAW-EATER,' THE MYSTIC PROTOTYPE OF HIS WORSHIPPERS.

Red-figured *stamnos* in the British Museum, Cat. E 439, pl. xv. From Jane E. Harrison, *Proleg.*, p. 451, fig. 139.

(*d*)

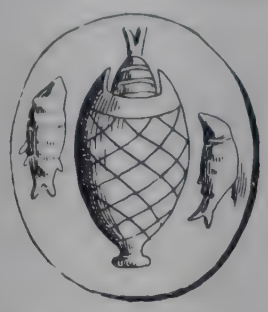
ECSTATIC MAENAD WITH SNAKE IN HAIR, THE ROE-SKIN (*NEBRIS*) AROUND HER SHOULDERS, A RAM IN HER LEFT AND THE IVY-WREATHED WAND IN HER RIGHT HAND.

Painted white ground *kylix* in the Munich vase-collection Jahn, Cat. No. 382, Baumeister, Denkin, fig. 928. From J. E. Harrison, *l.c.*, p. 399, fig. 125.

Plate XXXVIII., to face p. 60, n. 2.

Fig. 1.

'FISHER-RING' OF S. ARNULD, BISHOP OF TREVES.



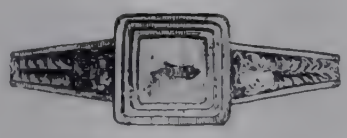
At present in the treasury of the Cathedral of Metz.

Reproduced from Cabrol, *Dictionn. des Antiquités chrétiennes*, vol. ii. c. 2184, fig. 675 cp. Deloche, *Essai historique et archéologique sur les Anneaux*, Paris, 1900, p. 86; Le Blant, *Inscript chrét. de la Gaule*, vol. i., p. 421.

The modern plain and unengraved bishops' rings are prescribed by the Synod of Milan (Deloche, *Mém. Acad. Inscr. Bell. Lettres*, xxxv. 1896, p. 235, n. 3); on p. 239, however, the author quotes instances which prove, that for a long time the severe prohibition of inscriptions or engravings of whatever kind on bishops' rings was occasionally neglected. The earliest quotation of the ring as the essential symbol of episcopal power dates from the 7th century A.D. (Deloche, *o.c.*, p. 237).

Fig. 2.

BISHOP'S RING OF THE DIOCESE MAGUELONNE, THE LATER MONTPELLIER WITH THE FISH-SYMBOL ENGRAVED ON THE SEAL-STONE.



Reproduced from Cabrol, *l.c.*, p. 2201, fig. 723; cp. Deloche, *Essai*, etc., p. 228, ccliv.

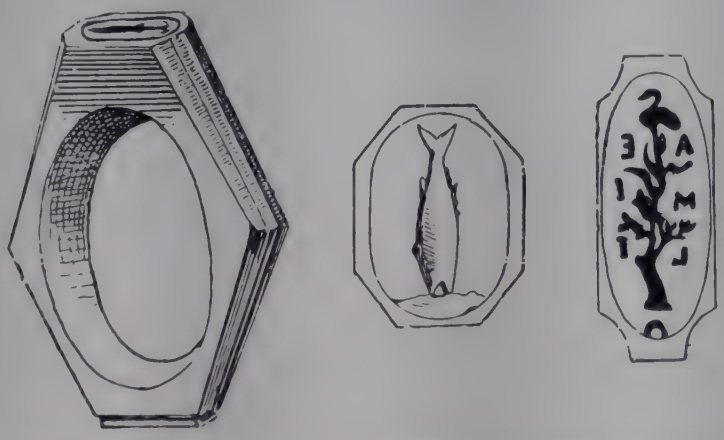
Fig. 3.

THE FISH AND THE INSCRIPTION (I)XΘYΣ

on the ring of an unknown owner found near Rome, now in the collection of Count G. Stroganoff. Reproduced from Cabrol, l.c., c. 2193, fig. 684; cp. *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1873, pl. IV.-V., no. 6. Garucci, *Storia dell'Arte cristiana*, vol. vi., pl. 477, no. 24, p. 116, no. 74; Doelger, *Ichthys*, p. 342, fig. 55.

Fig. 4.

RING OF ONE 'EMILIA' IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



With the Fish on one, the dove of Noah on the olive tree (cp. the text to pl. xx., no. 5) on the other sealing-stone. Reproduced from Cabrol, *l.c.*, c. 2203, fig. 729; cp. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiqq.* in the British Museum, no. 49. See also no. 48 in the same Catalogue, where a ring with fisher angling a fish and the inscription 'SALVATOR' (=saviour) will be found reproduced.

Plate XXXIX., to face p. 61.

THE FISHER AND THE LAMB WITH THE MILK-PAIL AND THE CROZIER.

Reproduced from the author's own rude fountain-pen sketches after the
CATACOMB PAINTINGS FROM THE SECOND HALF OF THE FIRST CENTURY A.D. IN THE GALLERY O
THE FLAVIANS, DOMITILLA CEMETERY.

Direct photographic reproductions in Wilpert's *Catacomb-Paintings*, pl. vii.; these could not be reprinted here, as the origina blocks could not be obtained, and a reproduction from the rather unsatisfactory plates themselves has proved impossible.

Plate XL., to face p. 61.

THE GOOD SHEPHERD AMONG HIS LAMBS CARRYING THE MILK-PAIL.
To the right and the left trees, symbolising Paradise.

Third century painting from the catacomb of S. Lucina.

(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. 66.)

In the catacomb of Praetextatus (4th cent. A.D.), the milk pail of the good shepherd is replaced by the usual cylindrical case, containing book-rolls—the so-called '*bibliotheke*.' Cp. p. 64 on the 'milk' being symbolic of religious elementary instruction of the neophyte.

Plate XLIII., to face p. 65.

THE LAMBS REACHING THE MILK (THE MILK-PAIL BEING PLACED ON AN ALTAR), CHRISTIAN ADAPTATION OF THE ORPHIC SYMBOLON

'*eriphos es gala epeton.*'

Third century catacomb-painting from the Domitilla Catacomb.

(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. 83c.)

Plate XLIV., to face p. 66.

PAINTINGS FROM THE SO-CALLED 'CHAPELS OF THE SACRAMENT' IN THE CATACOMBS OF S. CALLISTO.

Fig. 1.

(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. 27.)

The fisher angling a fish. (Math. xvii. 27 ? .)

Baptism of a youth (probably St. John baptising Jesus).

Cp. below pl. xlvi., to face p. 72.

The descent of the spirit in the shape of a dove, the latter carrying an olive leaf as did the dove of Noe (cp. above p. 189 on baptism as granting salvation in the final flood).

The impotent man healed in the *piscina* of Bethsaida (Jn. v. 2) carrying his bed. Cp. Chrysost. *c. Ebrietatem*, p. 444: 'The Christians are *fishes* in the word and in the spirit (*logikous kai pneumatikous*), who are thrown in to the water of baptism as it were into the pool of Bethsaida, the symbol of the baptismal font.'

Fig. 2.

Moses producing water from the rock.

The angler with the fish. As the figure is placed immediately beside the meal of fish and bread, we should compare the apostle's prayer in the *Acts of Thomas*, ch. xlvii. (p. 164): "O *Jesus*, God from God, Saviour . . . who *catchest the fishes* for *the breakfast* and for the principal meal, who fillest us all with a little bread," etc.

Fish and bread meal, erroneously identified by previous authors with the feeding of the seven disciples on the shore of the lake Tiberias (cp. below p. 217. On p. 66 l. 23, the words 'by the feeding . . . Tiberias' should therefore be cancelled).

Plate XLV., to face p. 68.

"Eriphos es gala epeton"

THE MYSTIC MILK-PAIL, 4TH CENTURY FRESCO PAINTING FROM THE CALLISTO CATACOMB

(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. cxxxvi. 1.)

this time grouped not with the Christian symbol of the lamb, but with the Orphic *eriphos* (kid, young he-goat) and not with the crozier of the Christian good shepherd, but with the *caduceus* of Hermes, the guide of souls, whom the Orphic Hymn xxviii. praises as the 'prophet of the Logos' to men. A more exact illustration of the Orphic *eriphos es gala epeton* could hardly be imagined. That a goat-like animal—the very *eriphos* of our group—recurs frequently in the corners of the painted vaults in the Catacombs has already been observed by v. Sybel, *Christl. Antike*, i. 174. The two ducks in the upper picture may also have a symbolic value. See *Röm. Quart. Schr.*, 1911, pp. 44ff. on a stone slab from the Kyriaka Catacomb with the figures of an ox (above p. 57 last lines p. 58 and pl. xxviii., and of a duck, and the inscription ANATE (=duck) and BOIDION (=young ox.)

I believe now—1918—that the symbolism of the 'ox' for the *teacher* of the church is connected with Paul, 1 Cor. 9, 9f. and that the upper picture of this illustration represents the lake with the 'water-fowl'—symbolic of the souls of the just ones in Paradise—as seen in the fourth sky by the visionary author of *Baruch's Apocalypse* ch. 10, cp. below pl. L., to face p. 168 n. 5.

Plate XLVI., to face p. 72.

THE BAPTISMAL FISHING OF MEN.

n an early Byzantine (age of Constantine) stone vessel for storing holy water—that is, at the present day, water blessed day of Epiphany, but originally, perhaps, water from the Jordan, since the nude figure pouring out water from an urn is nly the personified Jordan, as a comparison with the parallel figure inscribed 'Jordan,' on the mosaic of pl. I. will easily On the left a naked figure—the neophyte—is seen to jump head foremost into the water from the top of a colonnade. In ter the submerged candidate is turned into a fish that swims about among 'fishes of all kinds' (cp. above, p. 168 n. 3). On ck, which is, probably, according to 1 *Cor.* 104, symbolic of the Christ, since it also offers to the spectator the sight of a door, probably in remembrance of him who said 'I am the door,' etc., we see two fishermen, fishing, as Pauline Nolanus p. 72), out of the life-giving Messianic water those that are to become the prey of salvation. The lid of the receptacle, is at present in the baptistery of the Basilian friars in Grottaferrata, is decorated with a frieze of dolphins.
produced from a photograph by Vasari, Rome, which the author owes to the kindness of Father Sofronio Gassisi of ferrata.

Plate XLVII., to face p. 74.

THE SOUL HAVING 'PUT ON' THE 'FISH' AS A GARMENT

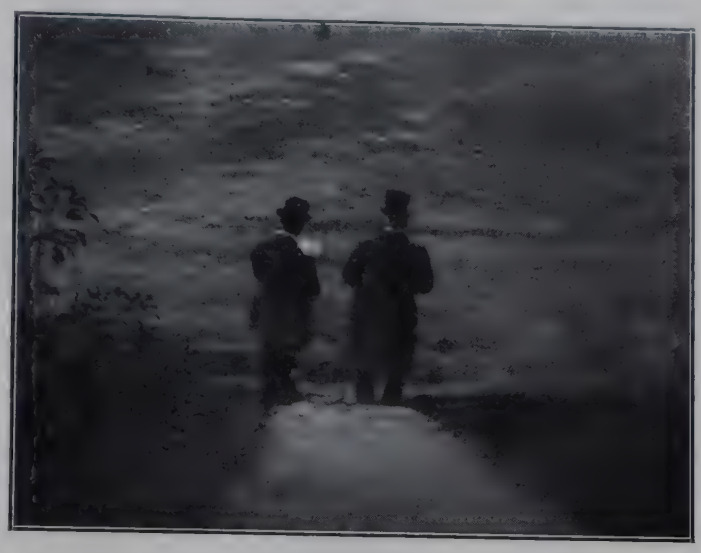
Early Christian earthen-ware lamp in the Museum of Marseilles.

Reproduced from R. Garucci, *Storia dell'arte Cristiana*, vol. vi. tav. 474, no. 6= Doelger, *Ichthys*, p. 120, fig. 5. Garucci, *o.c.* tav. vi. p. 111, has already seen that the fish is thought of here as a garment. Cp. the doctrine of the Jewish Kabbalists (Michael Epstein, *Sēfer kisur senē luhot habberit*, Fürth, 1732, f. 56a ; Scheftelowitz, *Arch. f. Rel.-Wiss.* xiv. 365) that *the souls of the righteous are clothed* after their departure *in* the skin or covering of *a fish*.

The usual explanation of the figure as a Jonah swallowed by the fish is not incompatible with the proposed one, since the Midras, Jonah (A. Wünsche, *Aus Israels Lehrhallen*, ii. 53), cp. Sohar, ii. 198, French transl. by de Pauly, iv. 196, says that Jonah in the belly of the fish typifies the soul of man swallowed by Sheol.

Plate XLVIII., to face p. 141.

THE THASH^{e}LIH-RITE AS PERFORMED BY MEMBERS OF THE ORTHODOX JEWISH SYNAGOGUE AT MUNICH, ON THE EVENING OF THE 2ND OF OCTOBER, 1913 (1ST OF TISHRI, 5674).



Two Jewish gentlemen standing on the shore of the little island-garden under the Maximilian Bridge over the Isar and reciting *Micah* 7 19-20 in sight of the flowing water

Elderly Jewish gentleman and boy on the opposite bank of the same island shaking their overcoats over the river.

Reproduced from the author's own photographs (see his paper in the *Bayrische Hefte für Volkskunde* i. no. 2, pp. 114).

To avoid undesirable notice, the community does not walk in procession from the synagogue to the water, and the rite itself is performed quite unobtrusively and somewhat hurriedly. The photographer had of course to keep at a certain distance, so that better snap-shots could not be obtained in the evening light. A much more picturesque illustration of the same rite as performed by Galician Jews will be found in the *Jewish Encyclop.*, xii. 66 (plate). A very good photograph taken in a little Russian town during the war in Scherl's weekly, *Die Woche*, 1916, No. 53.

N.B. (to p. 142, l. 5). It is no mere *supposition* that this rite existed in the days of John and Jesus. As Kalman Schulman has acutely observed (*Ha-Meliz*, 1868, viii., no. 14), it was already a time-honoured ancestral custom of the Jews, when the Halicarnassian decree, quoted by Josephus, *Antiqq.* xiv.,10, § 23, allowed the Israelite inhabitants of the town "to perform their sacred rites according to the Jewish laws and *to have their places of praying at the sea-coast according to the tradition of their fathers.*" As no other Jewish rite is known to be celebrated at the shore of the water, there is no doubt, that the privilege refers to the *Thash^{e}lih*-ceremony.

Christian interpreters also connected Micah 7 19f. with the baptism of John, see Rupertus abb. Tuit. Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* clxviii., 525 *ad loc.*: "He will wash our sins into the depths of the sea . . . that is to say, he will destroy *in the baptism* of Christ all our sins."

Plate XLIX., to face p. 161.

EARLY CHRISTIAN SARCOPHAGUS

Reproduced from L. v. Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, vol. ii. fig. 5 (cp. 6)

WITH (1) JONAH SAVED FROM THE WATER BY FISHERMEN (2). Immediately above Jonah we see Noah in his ark (3, 4). On the frequent juxtaposition of Jonah and Noah, see Erich Becker, *Röm. Quart. Schrift*, 1912, p. 273ff. A midrash (*Shalsheleth ha-Kabalah*, p. 74b. 75a, *Bin Gorion, Sagen der Juden*, i. 239, cp. 389, 375, says, that Noe was really called Jonah

4

3 1 2

The same introduction of the fishermen into the story of Jonah is to be found on the newly discovered mosaic of the basilica Theodoriana of Aquilea (Gnirs, *Jahrb. d. Kh. Inst. d. Zentr. Komm.* Vienna, 1915, p. 147), and on the fresco of Cagliari, O. Wulff, *Altchristl. u. byz., Kunst*, Berlin, 1913, p. 92, fig. 64. Jonah in the typical attitude of an Orpheus among his animals will be found in a legend (Hammer, Rosenöl 220; Dähnhardt, *Natursagen*, i. 236), describing how all animals—the goose excepted—pay their compliments to Jonah when he reclines in the shadow of his cucumber bower after his escape from the belly of the whale.

Plate L., to face p. 168, *note* 5.

ANGELS ANGLING—WITH FISHING-RODS, NETS AND FISH-WEIRS—IN THE MYSTIC JORDAN (SEE THE INSCRIPTION).

Frieze running round the lower edge of the apse mosaic in S. Giovanni in Laterano, copied by Jacopo Torriti under Pope Nicolas IV., from a 4th century mosaic.

(Reproduced from Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, London, 1900, p. 169.)

A bronze bowl with a lake full of fish and water-fowl, evidently a vessel for baptismal water, is in the Kircher Museum in Rome (F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kunst*, Freiburg B., 1896, p. 94.

A frieze, showing the gardens of paradise, the stream flowing through it, with water-fowl swimming on it, and before a balustrade, a shepherd leaning on his staff and guarding a reclining calf (cp. above p. 57 and pl. xxviii.) has been discovered in the basilica Theodoriana in Aquilea (Gnirs, *l.c.* p. 153). With these compositions compare the description of the 'fourth heaven' in the Greek apocalypse of Baruch, ch. 10: 'I saw a great monotonous plain and in the middle of it a lake full of water. And on it there were a great many birds of all kinds, but not similar to those we have here. And I saw a crane as (big) as big cattle, and all the birds were bigger than those (known) on earth.' And I asked the angel: 'What plain is this, what lake, and what a multitude of birds around it?' And the angel said: 'Listen to me, Baruch: the plain surrounding the lake and all the wonders on it, is (the place) where the souls of the just come to, to live together in choirs. But the water is that, which the clouds receive, to rain it down on the earth and to make the fruits grow.' And I further said to the angel of the Lord: 'What birds are those?' And he said to me: 'They are those, that sing perpetually in praise of the Lord.'

Plate LI., to face p. 204, n. 1.

ROMAN FUNERAL MONUMENT OF THE 1ST CENTURY A.D., SYMBOLISING THE PASSAGE OF THE SOUL THROUGH THE THREE ELEMENTS.

(Reproduced from *Jahreshefte des österr. arch. Instituts Wien*, xii., 1910, p. 203.)

"Above the portrait of the deceased there appear first two busts of the winds facing each other. Higher up, on the architrave, are two tritons and two dolphins, which evidently represent the idea of the aqueous element. Finally, at the top of the stone in the pediment, we see two lions which, as on the Mithraic monuments, are symbols of fire, the igneous principle." (Cumont *l.c.*) Of course the 'winds' stand here for the atmosphere; the dolphins, etc., for the 'upper waters' of the Bible, the 'heavenly okeanos,' as the Greek cosmologists called it; and the lions for the uppermost fiery heaven or *empyreum*, through all of which the soul has to pass to its final abode.

For the remarkable representation of the sky as the attics—reposing on columns—of a vaulted temple, cp. the analogies illustrated and analysed on p. 620 of the author's *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*.

As to the 'stream of fire,' p. 204, cp. the *midrash*, Wünsche, *Isr. Lehrh.*, 1907, Leipzig, p. 130, where it is called *rijon* (evidently from a Latin '*regio ignis*'): "if even the angels bathe in this stream of fire to renew themselves, how much more should the children of man long after this purification."

The passage through the three elements as a mystic '*peirasmos*' may be familiar to the reader from the famous scenes in Mozart's 'Magic Flute,' the libretto of which is derived from the Abbé Terasson's historic novel *Sethos*, the favourite reading of Frederic the Great, who again uses the text of Apuleius quoted p. 203. The passage of Servius *ibid.* has already been compared with the sermon of John by Sal. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, Religions*, vol. ii., 1334.

Plate LII., to face p. 208.

THE EARLIEST 'FISH AND BREAD MEAL' PICTURE IN THE CATACOMBS.

End of 1st century fresco-painting from the 'Gallery of the Flavians' in the Domitilla Catacomb.

From a drawing, reproduced in F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der christl. Kunst*, fig. 20 (the galvano having been kindly lent by the publishing firm Herder & Co., Freiburg, i. B.). The photographic reproduction of Wilpert, pl. vii., is unhappily too blurred to give a satisfactory idea of the composition to our readers.

Plate LIII., to face p. 209.

Fig. 1.

STILL-LIFE PAINTINGS OF THE SECOND CENTURY FROM THE CATACOMB OF S. LUCINA, SHOWING THE FRIDAY-FISH, THE BASKET WITH THE NEWLY BAKED SABBATIC 'THANKS-GIVING' BREAD, AND THE GLASS 'CUP OF BLESSING' FILLED WITH RED WINE (cp. pp. 223ff.).

(Reproduced from Wilpert's coloured plate xxviii.)

Cp. St. Jerome, *ad Rustic*, n. 20, t. i., p. 947, Vallarsi: ". . . he, who carries the body of the Lord in a wicker-basket and His blood in a glass (cup)."

Fig. 2.

THE MEAL OF THE TWO FISHES AND THE EIGHT BASKETS OF BREAD IN THE 'CHAPELS OF THE SACRAMENT' OF THE S. CALLISTO CATACOMB.

Fig. 3.

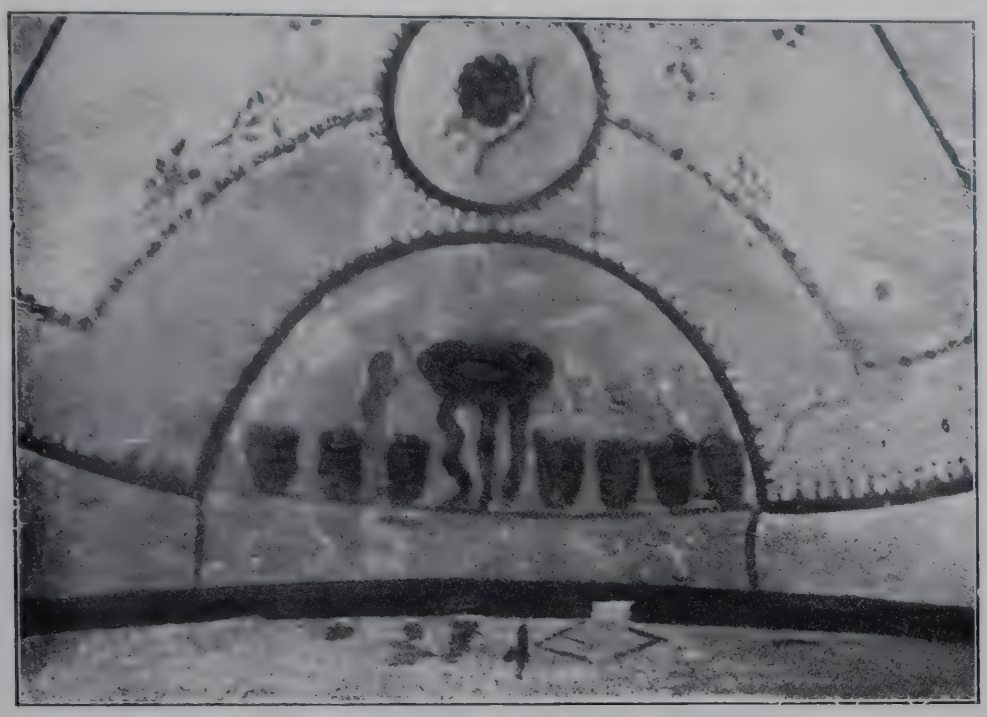
THE OTHER FISH AND BREAD MEAL IN S. CALLISTO.

(Both reproduced from Wilpert, pl. xli.

Fig. 1.

TWO LOAVES AND ONE FISH ON A TRIPOD SURROUNDED BY SEVEN BASKETS FULL OF BREAD.

Second Century painting from a vault in the Catacombs of S. Callisto.



(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. xxxviii.)

Fig. 2.

EUCHARISTIC SCENE (MAN BLESSING BREAD AND FISH FOR A PRAYING WOMAN).

From a painting in another room of the same Catacomb.

(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. xli.)

The woman has been explained as either 'Pistis' (='Faith,' cp. p. 219, n. 2) or as a personification of the 'Church' (De Rossi in Pitra, *Spic. Solesm.*, iii. 567); but it is the man who blesses the mystic food and the woman who waits for it in praying attitude.

Plate LV., to face p. 209.

SECOND CENTURY FRESCO-PAINTINGS ILLUSTRATING THE EATING OF BREAD AND FISH IN THE EARLY CHRISTIAN *AGAPAE*.

Fig. 1. FROM THE PRISCILLA AND

Fig. 2. FROM THE CALLISTO CATACOMBS.
(Reproduced from Wilpert, pl. xv.)

Plate LVI.

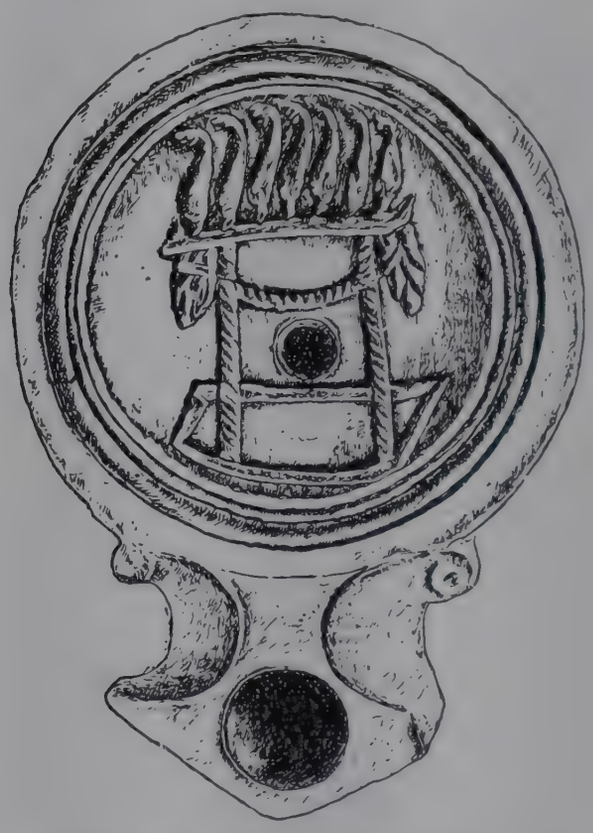
PAGAN SACRAMENTAL MEAL FROM A FUNERAL MONUMENT IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Reproduced after Perdrizet, Reliefs Mysiens, *Bullet. corr. Héllén*, 1899, p. 592, pl. iv.; note the dancer and the dancing girl, the flute player and the man refilling the jugs from the wine-vat.

A mystic fish-eating is illustrated by the monuments from the cult of the Samothracian Kabirim in F. X. Dölger's admirable book *Ichthys*, vol. i., Rome, 1910, p. 144ff.

Plate LIX., to face p. 231.

THE MIRACULOUS 'DRESSED TABLE' WITH THE SEVEN FISHES THAT FELL FROM HEAVEN AT THE PRAYER OF JESUS (p. 236, n. 6), AS REPRESENTED ON AN EARLY CHRISTIAN EARTHENWARE LAMP FROM CARTHAGE.



(Reproduced from *Revue archéologique*, 1901, i. 24ff.)
Cp. Psalm 78, 19: 'They said, Can God furnish *a table in the wilderness?*'

Plate LX., to face p. 256, note 5.

BUDDHISTIC DRAWING, REPRESENTING THE '*YONI*' (=FEMALE ORGAN) IN THE SHAPE OF TWO FISHES AND A FIG LEAF.

(Reproduced from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xviii. p. 392, pl. ii.)

Cp. an old Italian prayer, containing the words '*matrona nuota come pesce*'='the *matrix* swims like a fish,' quoted in the *Archiv f. Relig. Wiss.*, 1909, p. 153, and Marcell. *De Medicam.* xxix, 23, where 'a fish or a dolphin' are recommended as preservatives against uterine cramps.

Plate LXI., to face p. 258.

Fig. 1.
EROS RIDING ON A FISH AND HOLDING A MANDRAGORE (?).

Medallion in the Bonn Art Museum reproduced from Imhoof Blumer, *Thier-und Pflanzenbilder auf griechischen*, Münzen, pl. xxiii. 11.

Fig. 2.
WINGED CUPID HOLDING A FISH.

Gold *bractea* (ancient love-token) in the *Cabinét des Médailles* of Paris. Reproduced rom *Nouv. Ann. de l'Instit. Archéol.* i., 1836, pl. A, fig. 2.

Plate LXII., to face p. 259.

POSEIDON, HERAKLES AND HERMES, FISHING. BLACK-FIGURED LEKYTHOS IN THE HOPE COLLECTION.

Reproduced from Lenormant-de Witte, *Elite de Monuments céramographiques*, vol. iii., pl. xiv.

See previous reproductions in Christie, *Disquis. upon Greek Vases*, pl. xii., No. 81; Millin, *Gal. Mythol.*, cxxv., 466. A reproduction from a new photograph is given by Miss Tillyard in *Essays and Studies*, presented to Dr. Ridgeway, Cambridge, p. 186.

The same subject is depicted on a black-figured bowl mentioned as being in the collection of Sir Edmund Lyons, by de Witte, *o.c.*, p. 45, n. 6.

Plate LXIII, to face p. 259.

LOVE-FISHING—GREEK: *erotikē agra.**
(GIRL—HELPED BY CUPID—ANGLING A FISH.)

Pompeian fresco-painting, reproduced after the line engraving in the *Museo Borbonico*, vol. iv., pl. 4, of the Naples edition.

The frequent repetitions of the same or a very similar composition are enumerated in Helbig, *Wandgemælde*, 346-355. In two instances (346 and 354) the female figure wears a little coronet; in no. 352 the coronet is replaced by a wreath of ivy, the well-known sacred leaves of Dionysos (cp. plate xxxvii. *bis*, with the Bacchic Mænad carrying a fish). Some scholars have therefore interpreted the main figure of this image as representing Aphrodite herself. But as Zahn has pointed out (*Archæol. Beitr.*, p. 214) this is quite unnecessary (the coronet may be the bridal crown mentioned by Synes. *Ep.* 3, p. 639 H.), however possible it is to think of a group of Eros and Aphrodite. With regard to the erotic symbolism of the 'fishes' and the 'fishing,' discussed in the text, it may be mentioned that one of the above enumerated copies of this composition was found in the brothel of Pompeii. The Babylonians called a whore (*gadistu*) '*ba'artum sa musi*'—'fisher of the night.' For other reproductions see *Museo Borbonico*, ii. 48; Gell., ii. 42, p. 109, Z. 18; Zahn, i. 20; Panofka, *Bilder antiken Lebens*, xviii. 4, etc.

* This expression is used—as the late Prof. Crusius kindly informed me—by the orator Alciphron, O. iii. fr. 6, p. 96. A Welsh story of a fished sweet-heart may be found in *Folklore*, vol. xi., p. 338.

Fig. 1.

THE 'GREAT MOTHER' OR 'POTNIA THĒRŌN'—'LADY OF THE BEASTS'—WITH THE DIVINE 'FISH' IN HER WOMB.

(Archaic Boiotian vase reproduced from *Ephēmeris archaioligikē*, 1892, *pinax* 10)

The symmetrically placed animals right and left from the goddess are the well-known lions of Cybele. On her hands are the peacocks—well known as the sacred birds of Hera in Samos and Argos. The bull-head in the vacant space left from the 'Mother' is the symbol of the bull-god, associated with Cybele or Atargatis or however we may call her. For the 'arm' with the thunder-cross or *swastika* on the right as symbol of Hermes- (Arma), cp. *Philologus*, lxviii., pp. 204 and 182 n. Under the lions the two summits of the world-mountain.

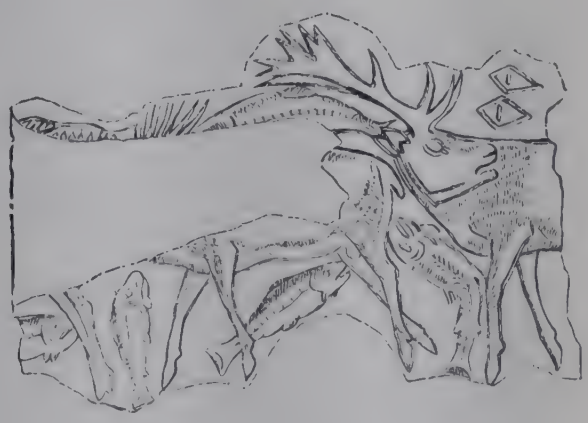
See also above pl. xi. the Babylonian ideogram of the goddess Ninua, the 'house of the fish,' where 'house' may be symbolic for 'womb' (see the analogies in *Philologus*, l.c., pp. 164ff.)

Fig. 2.

Mycenian potsherd in the National Museum of Athens.

Fish and symbolic rhomboid painted between the legs of a horse (explained as a fertility charm by Hoernes, *Urgesch. d. Kunst*, Vienna, 1896, p. 15.)

Fig. 3.



Pre-historic engraved bone of reindeer.

Reproduced after Piette, *L'Anthropologie*, Paris, 1894, p. 144, fig. 44.

Plate LXV., to face p. 263, n. 7.

LADY SPINNING BEFORE THE SACRED FISH ON THE ALTAR.

Early Babylonian black stone-relief (3rd or 4th millennium, B.C.) excavated in Tello, now in the Louvre.

Reproduced rom Morgan, *Mém. Déleg. en Perse*, vol. i., pl. xi. The high rank of the cowering lady (or priestess?) is proved by the fan-bearer standing behind her. According to Lucian's description (*de Dea Syria*, 32) the idol of the Syrian mother-goddess was represented with a distaff in her hand; as the god 'Fish' is called her son by the Lydian author Xanthos (*Athen.* p. 346, l.) and sacred fishes are sacrificed every day on her altar (Mnaseas in Athen. l.c.) there may be a connection between the cult of the mother-goddess and this sacrificial scene. Cp. also p. 256, n. 3, Mary, the Virgin, spinning in the moment of the conception of the Christ, the mystic 'Fish.' The seven round objects (the last one broken) placed around the fish on the altar may be seven sacrificial cakes.

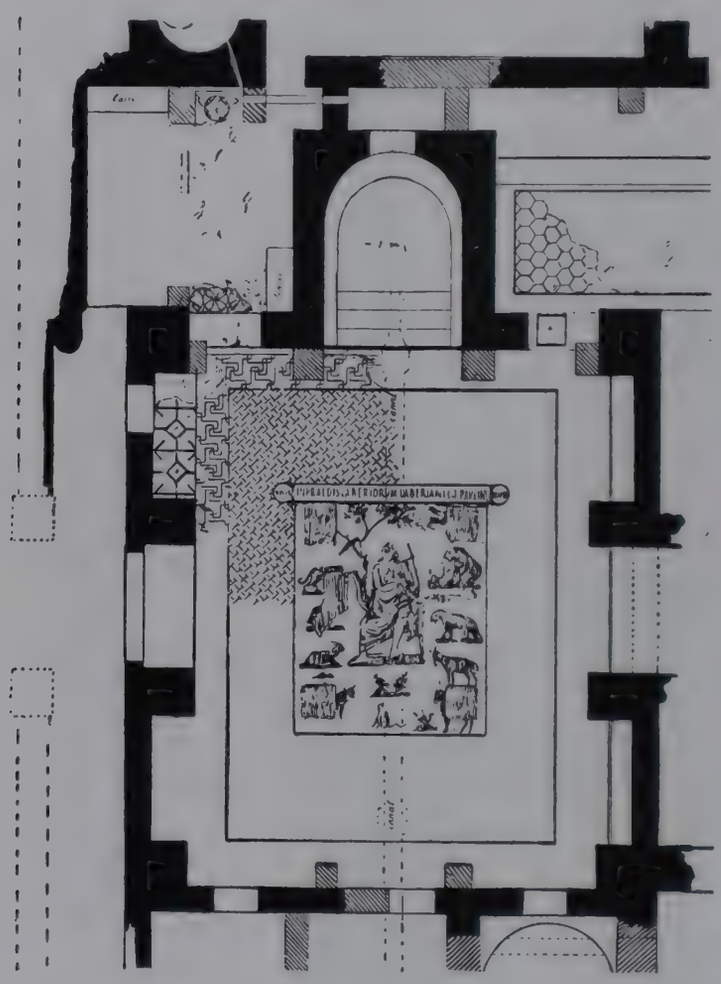
A third person was represented on the right side of the altar but only the hem of a long robe is preserved.

THE VINE AS SYMBOL OF DIONYSOS BOTRYS OR EUSTAPHYLOS (=THE GRAPE OR VINE D.) AND DIONYSOS HALIEUS, AGREUS OR ZAGREUS (THE *FISHER*) ON A MOSAIC, WHICH DECORATED THE PAVEMENT OF THE SANCTUARY OF ORPHIC INITIATES AT MELOS, AS EXCAVATED IN TRAMITHIA BY MESSRS. R. C. BOSANQUET, D. MACKENZIE AND CECIL SMITH, IN 1896.

(Reproduced by permission from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xviii., 1898.)

Plate LXVII., to face p. 279.

ORPHIC PISCINA OF THE 3RD CENTURY A.D., FOUND IN THE VILLA OF THE LABERII IN UTHINA
(North Africa.)



Reproduced from the Plan added to Gauckler's paper in the *Monuments Piot*, iii.

The most ancient coins found during the course of these excavations were some of Alexander Severus, the most recent ones some of Constantine. So the date is well defined. The other rooms—not reproduced here—in Gauckler's plan, for the hot and steam baths, are later additions to the original room for cold baths (baptisms ?) only (p. 225, *l.c.*). The water ran into the basin from a marble statue, representing a cupid riding on a dolphin, which has been found on the spot (p. 222, fig. 13 *l.c.*), and compares with the fish-driving cupids of pl. xxx., and with pl. lxi., fig. 1.

Plate LXVIII., to face p. 281, n. 1.

WINE-BOTTLE REPRESENTING DIONYSOS-BOTRYS, THE DEIFIED GRAPE.

Reproduced rom Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, p. 90, pl. iii. (the distinguished author having kindly lent us this block).

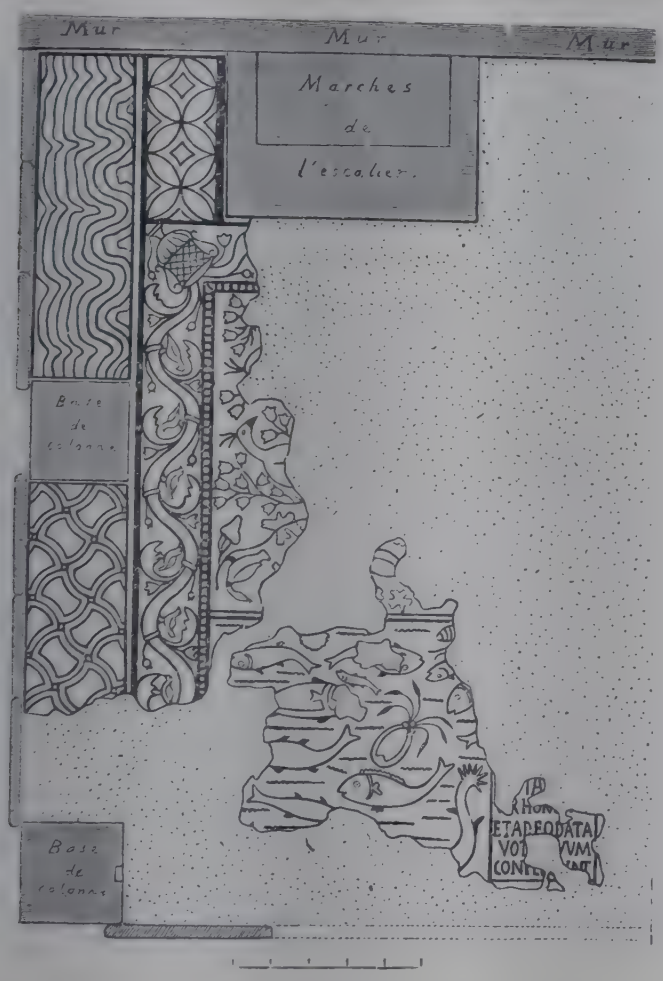
Plate LXIX., to face p. 281, *n.* 1.

DIONYSOS-BOTRYS, THE DEIFIED GRAPE.

Pompeian Fresco Painting in the Museum of Naples. Reproduced from *Gazette Archéologique*, 1880, pl. 2, p. 11, Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Pangée*, p. 90, pl. iii. (the distinguished author having kindly lent us this block).

Plate LXX., to face p. 282.

MOSAIC PAVEMENT WITH THE JOINT SYMBOLS OF THE VINE AND THE FISHES FROM THE CHRISTIAN BASILICA AT SERTEI, NORTH AFRICA.



Reproduced from *Mélanges* G. B. de Rossi, p. 345 A mosaic with the same vine-pattern—the grapes being eaten by doves—from a Christian basilica built between 324 and 340 A.D., at Orleansville, Algeria, is reproduced on pl. 47 of the *Revue archéologique*, iv., pl. 78. This mosaic filled the whole nave of the church, while the pavement of the apse contains *fishes*, which perhaps belonged to a representation of the miraculous draught-legend (l.c. p. 3). Cp. also in *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.*, 1894, p. 391, the mosaic with seven rows of fishes in the Church of Bishop Alexander in Tipasa, the pavement with the fishes and fishing puttoes in Aquilea (above pl. l. text), the mosaic with the fishes in the dome of Parenzo (Neumann; *der Dom. von Parenzo*, p. 26, 2nd to 3rd century), the 6th century example in S. Maria Formosa in Pola, Gnirs, *Mitt. der Centr. Comm.*, 1900, p. 57ff. and the Dalmatian pagan parallel from Lastua, Kubitschek, *Röm. Mosaiken*, p. 351ff. Still another Christian mosaic with swimming fishes is in S. Savino in Piacenza, another of Byzantine origin was excavated in Bettir in Palestine, *Revue Biblique*, 1910, pl. i. and ii., p. 254. A full account of all these monuments will probably be found in the still unpublished 2nd volume of Prof. Doelger's ΙΧΘΥΣ.

Plate LXXI., to face p. 284.

THE MYSTIC VINE.

Fresco-painted ceiling in the Gallery of the Flavians (1st cent. A.D.).

Domitilla Catacomb.

Reproduced after Wilpert, pl. vii. (cp. above, pl. xxxix.)

Possibly the ever-recurring prophecy of Messianic bliss in the Old Testament: "each man will sit under his vine" has something to do with this decoration of an early Christian vault. Besides it has not been observed until now, that the Sumerians called the vine GISH-TIN 'tree of life' and that there is a Patristic tradition as well as a Rabbinic tradition about the tree of life in Paradise having been a vine. Cp. the mosaic of the apse of San Clemente in Rome, Kraus, *Gesch. d. Christl. Kunst*, ii. 247, fig. 183.

In Egyptian pyramid texts the 'Paradise' garden of the gods is described as a vineyard (W. M. Mueller, *Mitt. Vorderasiat. Ges.*, xvii, 1912, p. 306. This vineyard seems to be meant in a Thebanian grave, the vault of which is decorated with a painted vine-bower, with the gods Osiris and Anubis sitting under a vine (Virey, *La Tombe des vignes*, Réc. Trav. 21, 1899, p. 144, fig. 17; 22, 1900, p. 86, fig. 20).

Plate LXXII., to face p. 286ff.

SCENES OF BACCHIC INITIATION.

Plaster-work on the vault of a bed-room of the Roman Villa, excavated in the garden of the Farnesina, at present in the seo delle Terme, Rome; Age of Cæsar or Augustus.

Bust of Dionysos.

Priestesses and Silenus initiating a Dionysian 'thyrsos-bearer.'

The two Fishermen (see detail on pl. lxxv.).

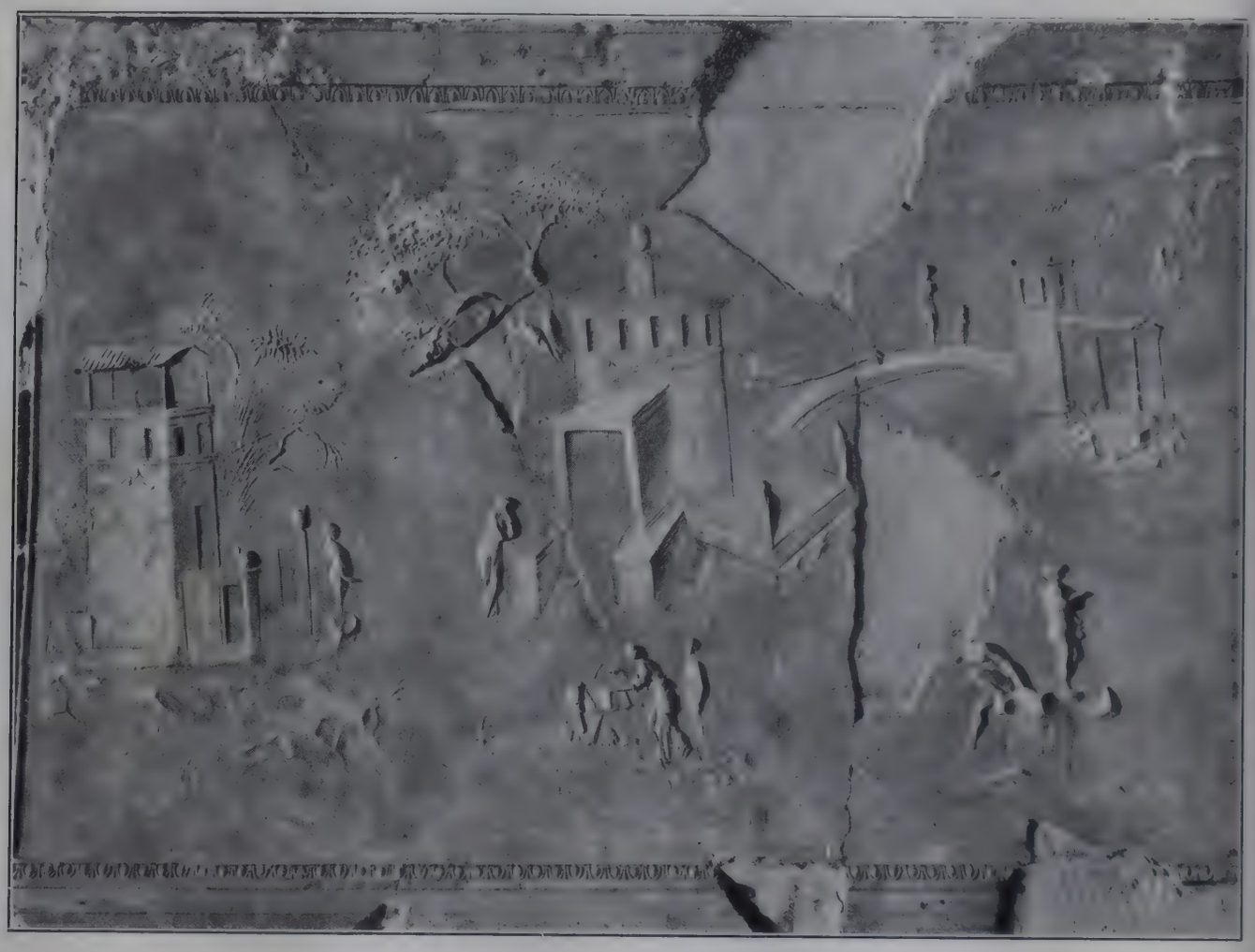
The 'thyrsos-bearer' admitted to the communion of the grape and the new wine.

Reproduced from *Monumenti dell' Instituto, suppl.* pl. xxxv.

Plate LXXIII., to face p. 294.

THE LANDSCAPE WITH THE BACCHIC FISHERMEN.

Detail from the Plaster-decoration with Bacchic scenes on the Bed-room ceilings of the Roman Villa excavated in the Garden of Villa Farnesina. At present in the Museo delle Terme in Rome. Age of Cæsar or Augustus.



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